

Children On the Move:

Experiences of Children Living in a Temporary Relocation Camp in Cape Town, South Africa

By Efua Prah

Thesis Presented for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Social Anthropology

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

November 2013

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Abstract

This thesis focuses on six children's experiences from various backgrounds who lived in temporary relocation areas in Cape Town, South Africa. The research was conducted over a three-year period from February 2010 to February 2013, with a one-year field-research period from October 2010 to October 2011. Themes identified examined the effects of forced removals, displacement, marginality and the prevalence of violence in Bluewaters Refugee Camp Site C and Symphony Way Temporary Relocation Area. Exploring pathways and patterns of identity, embodiment and experiences of health and illness, and the expressive, revealing quality of theatre, delivered rich data that produced an ethnographic account of children's experiences in these sites. Data collected were housed in a child-centred project called Creative Education that functioned both as a methodological approach and a creative space for children to share their experiences in a safe, productive environment. This thesis argues that what is integral to the research field of children and childhood studies is the idea that children are keen, active and acutely observant agents in their unfolding narratives. This is most clearly articulated through the staging of a theatrical performance piece, which served as the crescendo of this research, and is the key contribution the dissertation makes to anthropological knowledge. Through the exploration afforded by performative ethnography it is shown that the children create, shape and reinforce sociocultural meanings. For children living in Symphony Way Temporary Relocation Area, these meanings are suffused with violent experiences that follow them across the changing landscapes generated by frequent mobility.

Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DA	Democratic Alliance
DoE	Department of Education
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EDA	Ethnographic Discourse Analysis
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HDA	Housing Development Agency
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDPs	Internally Displaced Peoples
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SERI	Socio-economic rights Institute of South Africa

SCS	Six Culture Study
TRA	Temporary Residential Area
UCT	University of Cape Town
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WHO	World Health Organisation

University of Cape Town

Acknowledgements

Expressing my gratitude to those who contributed in various ways to the completion of this thesis is an honour, and I hope that I deliver my thanks to all who left me richer. Thank you first and always to the children, and the community of friends and families in Bluewaters Camp Site C and Symphony Way Temporary Relocation Area. Welcoming me into your homes is a blessing I continue to bask in. To my supervisor Dr Susan Levine, whose support, advice and comments were the greatest of gifts during the birth, growth and development of this thesis, I give my thanks. It was through Dr Levine that I received ample financial support from the National Research Foundation, and for this I am grateful. A heartfelt thank you to Prof. Shirley Pendlebury, Dr Ariane De Lannoy and Prof. Katherine Newman for catapulting me into my first in-depth qualitative research project, which essentially introduced me to the many families on the move who were central to this thesis. I extend appreciation to Chrys Goote and Mark Loudon for their sharp attention to detail and for making very helpful suggestion in the final drafts of this thesis. I owe the world to Maxine van Niekerk for holding my hand and trusting my dream, and being the best assistant imaginable. To Kåre Landfald whose interest, guidance, and unfaltering support helped shape the initial stages of the write-up, and whose love sustains my passion to always meditate, connect, and remain in the Now. Christiano Gianolla, Fernando Goya, David Veloso Larraz, Sofia Antunes and the Gomes family, our time in Portugal made me a better woman and positioned me to write from my heart. To Anna Elheim, who gave me the greatest of friendships when the going was tough, I am forever grateful. To my ancestors, my family, my friends and my dog – you are the glue that makes everything I choose stick together.

Contents

Abstract	1
Abbreviations	2
Acknowledgements	4
Picture Profiles of the Children	7
Chapter One – Moving Beyond	8
Introduction	8
Methodology	19
Ethical Considerations in the Methodology	21
Literature Review	24
Chapter Two – Meeting the Children	33
Early Beginnings	35
Placing the Prevalence of Violence in TRAs in an Historical Framework	44
Chapter Three – Identity	52
Discussing Identity	52
Naming the Space	54
Naming the Difference	56
Naming Violence as an Identified Feature in Blikkiesdorp	58
In Summary	61
Chapter Four – Displacement	62
Internal Displacement in South Africa	64
Stories of Violence in Temporary Spaces	69
Mapping out the Violence in Relation to Space	78
Belonging Somewhere Safe	883
In Summary	85
Chapter Five – Body Talk	87

Body Mapping	91
The Embodied Environment	96
The Embodied Social Environment	98
Healthy Homes	101
In Summary	104
 Chapter Six – Theatre on the Move	 105
Neighbourhood – A play about love and kinship set against a background of drugs, gangsterism and family violence	108
Dialogic Theatre Performance	113
 Chapter Seven – Gevaarlik! (dangerous!)	 120
Findings	121
Theoretical Implications	123
 Reference List	 125

Picture Profiles of the Children*



Laelynn 13 years old



Faizah 14 years old



Sameerah 12 years old



Gabriel 11 years old



Jafari 11 years old

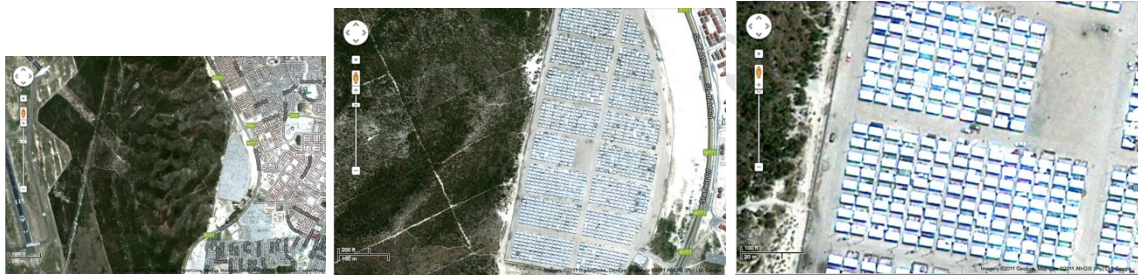


Aalif 13 years old

* The children's ages were recorded in October 2010. The author of this thesis was given consent by the children she worked with to use and present arising pictures, illustrations and photographs as part of this study.

1 Moving Beyond

“I’ve seen people get shot many times. Like when we were living in the RDP¹ houses, and there was court cases and everything, and the cops came to put us out and they shot on the people. And they shot people. Like, they shot one boy through the foot.” – Aalif, 12 years old



Symphony Way Temporary Relocation Camp from above

Introduction

Spread over compacted, barren sand on the outskirts of rented airport land in Cape Town, is a government-built temporary relocation camp called Symphony Way Temporary Residential Area (TRA). This interminable horizon of tin is known by its residents as “Blikkiesdorp” (Tin Can Town) or “Blikkies”. Some of the residents here are refugees, some are asylum seekers, some immigrants, and most are South Africans who have been evicted from public land as they wait for government subsidised housing.² All have been forcibly and violently

¹ Reconstruction and Development Programme

² The early promises articulated in a newly gained democratic South Africa, celebrated the drive for a massive overhaul in the distribution of land, capital and social services. The initial blueprint to address inequality was the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP). The RDP was designed to create programmes to improve the standard of living for the majority of the population by providing housing – a planned 1 million new homes in 5 years – basic services, education, and health care. The RDP did retain some redistributive elements, but these

removed and all are subject to the pressures of severe economic instability. The investigative process looks at what can be inferred about the lives of children living as internally displaced people³, in temporary relocation sites. The research explored the lifeworld's⁴ of children specific to this site, mapping out ideas about identity, concepts of belonging and philosophical reflections about space and place. This opening chapter provides the context, experiences and socio-political environment of movement.

I rooted my research within sites of transition because I have a particular interest in understanding the experiences of children living in temporary relocation camps. My interests were founded on the assumption that the combination of violence and frequent forced removals resulted in a compelling life experience of children in contemporary South Africa. The study was conducted with six children of Somali, Congolese and South African nationality who ranged between the ages of 11 and 14, over a one-year period from October 2010 to October 2011. By listening to their stories, I began my fieldwork, paying careful attention to the ways in which these children conceptualised their environment in terms of space, place and identity. Casting my net wide and drawing from preliminary research, I felt it was relevant to pose the following general question: What can we infer about the experiences of children living in temporary relocation camps by looking at the narratives of health and wellbeing in terms of how children make meaning of food security, shelter, and other things to stay healthy?

were rapidly abandoned in favour of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme, which was again replaced by the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) in 2006. The objectives of the ASGISA are to address the joint crises of poverty and unemployment as this is seen to be the trigger point for continued socio-economic flaws. With a population total of approximately 50 million and two-thirds of its citizenry living in urban areas, South Africa continues to grapple with the growing differences in housing quality, income and wealth.

³ The term “internally displaced people” is used here in reference to those whose lives have been characterised by forced migration, violence and poverty. Specifically, I make reference to children whose experience of life has been adversely affected by state policies that too often ignore socio-historical factors.

⁴ I use the term *lifeworld* to mean the complex whole in which we imbibe and describe meaning. It is premised on a collective experience, or an ecology of knowledge systems that reflect a nuanced social and cultural experience. In a way, it is a joining of Husserl's expression of the collective consciousness of experiential life and Habermas' socially and culturally referent theory of how social beings interact within their worlds.



Bluewaters Refugee Camp Site C

My first introduction into a site of mobility and temporality happened in July 2009 when I arrived on the wind-swept dunes of Bluewaters Refugee Camp Site C as part of my work with the Children's Institute. I was working on a project researching the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers in post-apartheid South Africa and was

collecting a repertoire of stories about displacement, subsequent mobility, and the accessibility of resources available to refugees and asylum seekers (Newman and De Lannoy 2014, under contract). On completion of this project, I spent a further six months interviewing and sharing afternoons with residents of the camp and particularly with one family of seven people – Kingston and Beauty Kwapenda and their children, Maurice, Marielle, Nanci, Petunia, and Jackson – from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Primarily, I focussed on building relationships through informal interviewing and casual dialoguing, slowly getting a sense of how each child expressed their experience of life. For the most part, they repeated what they had been saying to me since I first started asking them questions – they wanted resettlement out of South Africa, out of Africa. In other moments we sang songs, played games in the camp enclosure and took long walks on the beach.

In our meetings, there was not an obvious sense of solemnity of their experience of displacement although I insistently kept returning to the question of forced removals and unwillingly being on the move. They would give me the same answer – “We just want a safe country.” Their direct experience of movement was premised on their escape from spaces of violence and unsafeness.⁵ This was an entry point for further inquiry. Additionally, my visits to Bluewaters Site C occurred at an extremely tenuous and volatile time that further fuelled my interest in learning more about the ways children live in temporary relocation camps. The sudden disestablishment of the camp and the violent “clean-up” of hundreds of people signalled a sharp focus in my research on children's experiences of movement – it added a new element for thinking about the impact of violence, marginality and mobility on the experiences of “displaced” children. What I became interested in tracking, were the multiple

⁵ Within this thesis, ideas of safety are used interchangeably with ideas of health and wellbeing.

experiences of living in temporality, forced removals and the subsequent violence that unravels within these spaces. Every movement out of violence was a movement into safety and hence into comparative health and wellbeing.

The Kwapenda's journey into Bluewaters began as a consequence of the xenophobic violence of 2008 that erupted in townships across South Africa, displacing approximately 20,000 "foreigners", refugees, and asylum seekers in the province of the Western Cape. Having been forced out of their homes, killed, their businesses looted, and some losing family members in the chaos of displacement, the Cape Town City Council and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) set up temporary refugee shelters to accommodate those affected. (Human Sciences Research Council, 2008; Staff Reporter, 2008). By the end of 2008 a considerable number of those affected were either reintegrated or had taken voluntary repatriation, leaving approximately 400 people hoping for relocation out of South Africa to countries they perceived as safer, such as America, Australia and Canada. These remaining 400 people were placed in Bluewaters Refugee Camp Site C.

The site was situated about three kilometres from Strandfontein beach on the northern shore of the False Bay coastline in the Western Cape. It was spread out on a dune landscape dotted with low Cape shrubbery, on the outskirts of the small seaside community of Strandfontein. White UNHCR tented shelters, which were barely able to withstand the force of the wind became home to approximately 230 people. In Site C people grappled to forge a make-shift way of life. They ate what they could forage from the surrounding bush – bush rats and mice – and fish caught from the sea, which were hung along wire fencing to dry in the sun. This diet was supplemented by bread and maize-meal, which were bought with money earned from temporary employment or hand-outs from sympathetic residents living in nearby Strandfontein, Muizenberg, and Cape Town.



Living conditions were harsh and often unbearable. Residents of the Camp complained that the shelter provided by the UNHCR was inadequate, as it did not prevent the rain from hammering its way inside, dampening blankets and clothes. Beauty Kwapenda said that ever since living in the camp she had not been fully well. Her back had been giving her problems and she said her head was constantly aching. She went on to remark about how the health of her children was a major concern. Being exposed to the elements meant that, on windy days, cooking was a problem. The wind would blow sand into the shelter, into the cooking pots and onto the plates. Removing the sand from eating implements was such a difficult task that they inevitably ended up eating sand. She said that this caused digestive problems. The children also spoke of having painful stomachs and headaches and Marielle worried that she often had ear infections that remained untreated. These experiences of illness were central to the lives of people living in the Camp. It seemed that Kingston, Beauty and their children measured the quality of life experienced directly with their sense of health and wellbeing. They had developed a vocabulary of suffering in relation to the body and used this knowledge as an effective expression of dissatisfaction with their quality of living.

For the Kwapenda family, finding a home was central to their health and wellbeing. Their life on the move had been pock-marked with violence, instability and displacement. After one year of living at the Camp they were forced to pack up their possessions and move to Symphony Way TRA. The space that once felt like a permanent site for approximately 230 people soon became a windswept waste-land, a ghost town. The remaining 230 people were issued with a court ordered eviction notice after it was claimed “they refused to vacate Bluewaters, based on the fact that they were a particularly vulnerable group and it would be impossible to be reintegrated or resettled” (Judgment Handed Down in the High Court of South Africa; Case Number: 5083/09; 24th day of February 2010). The City of Cape Town’s



Preparing food in Bluewaters

director of communications, Pieter Cronje is quoted in the Cape Times on Monday 12th April as saying that while many migrants have been repatriated or reintegrated into local communities, all attempts to relocate those who remained at Bluewaters were unsuccessful. Their refusal to be reintegrated or resettled into surrounding

communities resulted in the unlawful occupation of Bluewaters Site C since October 2008. (Joubert, 2009; Kardas-Nelson 2009). Bluewaters Site C has since ceased to exist as a residential site. Most of the families categorised as “vulnerable” (meaning that they had more than four children) were moved to Symphony Way TRA. This forced removal of approximately 230 people marked my arrival into a new space of temporary living. I followed the family as they continued their journey, a family endlessly on the move.



Law enforcement officials and metro cops remove the foam and blankets the refugees had set up as a temporary home. They removed the material as well as arrested four people.



Refugees set up home in the sand dunes surrounding Blue Waters



This man was arrested after being pepper sprayed.

***Picture Source (a): Jordaan, M (2010).**



A summer's day in Blikkiesdorp

None of the Bluewaters temporary residents had visited Blikkiesdorp. It was rumoured to be a violent, unsafe place, so Kingston, Maurice and I made a quick decision a few days before eviction to drive to Blikkiesdorp to see the viability of living there. On arrival, Blikkiesdorp etched a freakishly dream-like experience into my lifeworld. Kingston and Maurice instantly decided Blikkiesdorp was not an adequate space to make a home in. They instead chose alternate accommodation – police stations, garages, backyards and eventually a tin shelter in an informal settlement near Mitchells Plain. Keeping on route with the Kwapenda family was a challenge. Somewhere between Blikkiesdorp and Mitchells Plain, our communication faltered. The distance between our worlds increased. Since arriving in Blikkiesdorp, I had established relationships with residents there and the Kwapenda family had continued their pursuit to find a safe home elsewhere. The splintering of our relationship offers a stinging remark on the fragility of relationships forged on the move.

My almost immediate insertion into the lives of residents there manifested possible hypotheses about identity, belonging and spatial socio-historical politics. I began carefully picking through the crumbled remains of years of displacement, the debris of abandoned struggles and lost battles continuously figuring as gritty comments on South Africa's housing backlog. Although some ground has been covered, there is still a long journey home.

Blikkiesdorp is a relatively new informal settlement. Each tin shelter is approximately six metres long and three metres wide. These shelters offer no insulation and are made out of corrugated iron sheets. They house up to six people, and four of these shelters share one toilet that is often blocked. There are no public bathing facilities and so people collect water and wash in buckets in their one-roomed shelters. On one of my visits there, Auntie Martha welcomed me into her silver house. From the entrance I squinted into the darkness of her home. The precariously fitted kitchen flanked the left wall. A tiny sitting area separated the kitchen from the bedroom by a bright pink couch that punched some lively colour into the darkness. To the right of the entrance were two wardrobes that separated the sitting area from the bedroom. She had used every possible space to fit life into a shiny silver box. Above her door hung a dried cutting of a bush, “for good luck...to chase away the bad things, the spirits” she said, smiling. I took a seat next to her and she began telling me the story of her arrival in Blikkiesdorp.

In 2006 they started to build the N2 Gate Way project here. Phase 1 and Phase 2 people are living here in Delft. We were evicted and moved here. When Phase 1 was finished they did put people in the newly built houses, the subsidised housing. People was waiting because they filled in the forms for the subsidy and they were on the waiting list. But nothing happened for the Coloured people. It was only Black people moving into the houses. And the councillor Frank Martin saw it like, ‘listen here, you won’t get a house.’ He was keeping meetings with the people. And one night, on a Thursday night, then he said, ‘240 people are going to get houses.’ And he dished out letters. And after that there was no more letters but 240 people did get those letters. Then he decided to say words to the people: ‘If you want a house,’ - and people who really want a house are going to do it - he said, ‘go and take the house.’ Then people started to run and everyone take the houses. And people just moved in, no doors, no windows...unfinished houses. There wasn’t even toilets. I said to him, ‘you are the councillor, you have a code of conduct! Why you tell these people to take houses?’ He said to me, ‘Our Coloured people are not going to get a house. If they want houses, they must go and take it.’ So, that is how people got to be living there. The first eviction was on the 19th February.

When Aunty Martha talks about Phase 1 and Phase 2 she is referring to the implementation process of the N2 Gateway Project, a highly ambitious housing settlement plan operationalized in 2005 by the Department of Housing Settlement, the provincial government of South Africa, the Cape Town City Council and the Housing Development Agency, an independent “implementing agent playing a facilitative role” (N2 Gateway update, 2011). From the outset, the R2,2 billion N2 Gateway Housing project has been compromised by muddled legal wrangles, controversial eviction and messy protests. In 2004, Minister of Housing Lindiwe Sisulu introduced the Comprehensive Plan on Sustainable Human Settlements, known as Breaking New Ground (BNG). The BNG was an answer to the defects in previous state housing programmes, which have typically been characterised by corruption, mismanagement and poor workmanship. In effect, the BNG utilised the cooperative strength amongst national, provincial and local government in efforts to lessen bureaucratic hurdles ensuring faster delivery (Tissington, 2011). It was estimated that in its completion, approximately 25,000 units would be built in three phases, “70% of which will be allocated to shack-dwellers, and 30% to backyard dwellers on the municipal housing waiting lists” (Chance, 2008).

In 2006, to begin the building process, mass evictions were initiated with the promise that those evicted would be allowed to return when the units were completed. As part of Phase 1, approximately 1,000 of 20,000 residents living in an informal settlement called Joe Slovo, located within the larger township of Langa, were moved to one of the the TRAs in Delft called Thubelisha or Tsunami as it is locally known. It was planned that 12,000 units would be built as part of Phase 1. Beset with structural problems from the beginning – adequate geotechnical assessment would have discovered much earlier on that the Joe Slovo settlement was both built on a landfill unsuitable for high-density housing and stands on a 50-year floodplain site (Mail and Guardian, 30 June 2006) – only 705 units were constructed as part of Phase 1, and only one resident of those evicted was relocated (Thamm, 2006). Despite the major structural problems of Phase 1, the remaining 20,000 shack dwellers were removed from Joe Slovo to reside in TRAs in Delft in preparation for Phase 2 that would extend in situ in Delft. In 2007, backyard dwellers⁶ from Delft, Belhar, Elsies River and Bonteheuwel,

⁶ Backyard dwelling refers to people renting out small wooden houses or informal shelters made from scraps of tin, wood and plastic sheeting in home owners’ back yards. People often rent out these shelters as a source of monthly income. One can pay anything from R400 to R2,000 for a backyard shelter.

moved into these unfinished homes. Many of those occupying these homes claimed they had been on the housing waiting list for years without reprieve. After a two-month, drawn-out court battle involving the backyard dwellers and key governmental operatives, those occupying the unfinished units of Phase 2 were evicted.

On the morning of February 19th 2008, as Aunty Martha told me:

People were evicted very badly. The trucks came and the police came, and they threw the stuff on the trucks. Even if you had a baby they didn't even care about the baby in the house, they just throw your stuff onto the truck. If you didn't want to take your stuff out, they put it on the pavement, on the field there. A lot of people lost their things there. Their stuff! They was shooting rubber bullets against the people. A lot of people got hurt in that eviction when it took place. Some of them went to jail, two or three guys went to jail. Then half of the people all moved to the field and some of the police mans were nice Coloured police mans. They told us, don't put your things here in the streets. It's still part of Thubelisha. Don't try to take your stuff over to the field. Move it to the pavement. We stayed there and that night we decided we are going to stay on the pavement. Whatever happens we are going to stay on the pavement. Then people started to build shacks on the pavements with blankets and stuff. There on the pavement we was living there. We lived there for nearly two years. Then the DA [Democratic Alliance] started to take us to court.⁷ They decided to take us to court because we didn't want to move. We went to court. And again we lose the case. The court ordered us to come to Blikkiesdorp. They did say it was a nice place. They said we can't live like this. But we was happy on the road. People was happy!

Later that year, 2008, Blikkiesdorp opened its gates and became the third TRA in Delft, providing emergency shelter to all those displaced by province-wide government evictions and those affected by the xenophobic violence of 2008.⁸

Currently, the N2 Gateway project comprises six semi-autonomous projects, namely Boystown, Delft Symphony, Delft 7-9, Joe Slovo, New Rest and two TRAs (Tsunami and

⁷ Anti-Eviction Campaign, 2009

⁸ Mail and Guardian, 2009

Symphony Way TRA). After years of challenges that have involved Cape Town's residents, policy-makers, stakeholders, project leaders and after years of court battles, expressed racial perceptions, invasions, community protests, and allegations of corruption, the completion of the project is in sight, under the stewardship of the Housing Development Agency (HDA) (HDA, 2013). Over the past four years, approximately 15,000 people have been allocated shelters on two square kilometres of hard soil that characterises Blikkiesdorp. Amongst these thousands I know six children who, over two year of closely working together, have articulated their experiences of life in a TRA.

Of the six children that figured as my informants, four had lived on the pavement of Symphony Way road. Eleven year old Gabriel simply, directly and incisively shares what this thesis delivers – an in-depth commentary on the prevalence of extreme violence in temporary relocation camps. He says, “I don’t want to stay there, where I am living anymore. I think that, at home, no one that lives there wants to really live there because that’s a dangerous place. They are dealing with drugs, gangsterism, teenage pregnancy, rape...everything is happening in that neighbourhood I am staying in now.” For them, this transit space crudely disguises the permanence of a life on the move. Their experiences impact them in the present time-space. When asked how they felt about being evicted, they simply shrugged their shoulders and said, “I don’t know.” The conversations would always return to a recurring sentiment: “We don’t want to live here anymore. I just want a house.” The roughness and messiness of life in this TRA reveals the slippages in governmental housing plans since 1994, incongruences in legal actions and harsh complexities in the redressing of apartheid laws.⁹

⁹ See Tissington, Kate (2011) A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa 1994-2010. Legislation, Policy, Programmes and Practice February 2011: Socio-economic rights Institute of South Africa (SERI). This resource guide provides a comprehensive and thorough overview of the key institutions, policies and programmes operating within the South African housing landscape.

Methodology

For this particular study, a qualitative research approach was applied. The methodological process chosen was developed from early experiences of teaching children and facilitating listening circles within communities. Time shared with children living in Bluewaters Refugee Camp Site C added the necessary awareness that is critical in having children who live in temporary relocation sites as your primary participants. Ethnographic research explored the effect of forced movement, temporary shelter, health and food security on children's ideas, identity, space and belonging. The narrative form that developed from the ethnographic research undertaken, shaped the structural form through which I analysed their experiences as children on the move. Through the use of narratives, an exploration of the relationships between the individual and her/his habitus were made by framing the role sociopolitical norms play in the creation of meaning and the ways in which these norms organise ideas and perceptions of 'self', health and well-being. Arguably, it is these meanings that perform and describe life. In the case of children's experiences of life in temporary relocation camps in South Africa, a narrative approach contributes to the unfolding *mise en scene* of their lives in ways that lend valuable insights to descriptive accounts of children's subjectivity and performativity within such sites.

Through a careful structuring of four methods that ran in sequential order, each one building upon the one it succeeded, the methodological approach served both as a creatively stimulating space for children and an ethnographic tool to study the effects of temporary relocation camps on children. Each method was informed by an anthropological question and covered theories of the self, the body, space and identity. As a basic analytical foundation, ethnographic discourse analysis was a useful starting point that aided in an understanding of narratives as expressed by children in mobile sites and settings. Taking this approach afforded an exploration that went beyond normative description and understandings of life on the move (Bucholtz, 2000; Goffman, 1981). The methodological process experimented on the viability and usefulness of an engaged, participatory approach to ethnography that both provoked a reworking of participant observational methodology and allowed for a fluidity to move easily amongst and between stories shared. This experiment in engaged, participatory methodology echoes the ethnographic documentaries of Jean Rouch in its aspiration to challenge traditional ethnographic methodologies, and adds to anthropological questions of how best to practice anthropology. From the research, the performative element of the

methodological approach acted as a very useful link between performance ethnography and explorations of childhood. Having written, set-designed and directed their own theatrical drama, the insights provided by the children were where the children's ethnographic account spoke most powerfully and most visibly. It is in this instance of the lived performance that the children emerge as keen observers, indeed, keen ethnographers of their experiences.

Semi-structured interviews, both formal and informal, were conducted. Critical observations of the ways in which children expressed and talked about the world were made using four modules housed within a project I established called Creative Education¹⁰. In it, differing media of expression were used – painting, map-work (Bray, Gooskens, Kahn, Moses and Seekings, 2010), creative-writing, journaling, craft-work, photography, permaculture/vegetable growing and theatre (Turner, 1979; Fabian, 1990; Schechner, 1977; Goffman, 1959) to better understand how children described and expressed their perceptions of life in a TRA. Attendance at community events and ritual occasions also positioned the data well, as my invited visibility on these occasions reflected a welcoming of my presence in the TRA. I met with the children for eight hours at a minimum every Saturday during school term, and three days in the week during school vacation time. The methodological approach culminated in a seminal theatrical piece of their experience of life as they perceived it. Using theatre performance, the children re-enacted experiences that had come to shape their references of how they perceived their world. Their daily ingestion of life in a temporary relocation camp sprang forth from their imagination, dramatically narrating the characters, setting and circumstances that gave rise to how they expressed and subsequently perceived their reality.

Le pouvoir se mange entire – Power is eaten whole – (Fabian, 1990: 3) is what Johannes Fabian in his seminal work in performative ethnography explores. His work delves into the thickness of performativity, into the subtle accents of lived metaphor. Remarking on the usefulness of performative ethnography, he says, “the anthropologists task is not to rise above his ethnographic material but to continue the work of reflection, to widen the audience, to ponder thoughts that were formulated, to show how formulations were produced, and, perhaps, to argue with some of the statements” (Ibid.: 257). The theatrical piece the children produced thus serves as an entry point into wider social issues that need problematizing. The

¹⁰ For further information regarding this project see: www.creativeeducation.org

dramatic end of their piece, acts as the beginning of a debate on the wider sociopolitical climate of a temporary relocation camp found on the edges of the city of Cape Town.

The supporting data collected were based on descriptive accounts shared by the parents of the children involved in the study. Their perceptions, opinions and observations of varying aspects within the temporary relocation camp were documented, and crucial observations about the continuity of violence between generations were made. The qualitative nature of the research probed the following questions: How does their external environment (temperature, availability of space, access to resources, and kinship ties) shape how they make meaning of the world; what are some of the problems faced by children living in temporary relocation camps; what factors are considered by children when faced with the inevitable action of movement and migration; and how has mobility contributed to their ideas of how they perceive the world?

I also asked questions that provided a loose framework about ideas of childhood as perceived by those living in temporary relocation camps. These questions are as follows: How do both children and adults perceive what childhood is, and what is their opinion on what it is to be a child; do they think they live in much the same way as other children. In the case of children living in TRAs in South Africa, how they have chosen to identify, interact and express their sense of health and wellbeing illustrates the impact the environment has on this perception. For children living in mobile sites and settings, by way of encouraging their narrative voice, one can come to understand what is most important to them, how to meet their needs, and why their expressions are valid comments on the social, political and economic climate of South Africa.

Ethical Considerations in the Methodology

The ethical debate on the processes and procedures of working with children is ongoing. The ethical considerations outlined here endeavour to ensure that all those involved acknowledged both theirs and the researcher's position and that the research drawn was transparent and open.

Foundational Guidance

As part of the methodological process I familiarized myself with the professional ethical obligations that ought to be applied in all relevant sites and settings as outlined in the American Anthropological Association Principles of Professional Responsibility. It served as a guideline on how I ought to conduct my research. I also consulted the University of Cape Town's '*Guide to Research Ethics*', which extensively explores what is involved in a researcher's ethical pursuits. In my approach to working with children I was mindful "that ethical considerations are ongoing and that ethical dilemmas may arise at any stage of the research, and not just at the point of contact with research subjects" (Marrow and Richards, 1996: 95). Using this as the benchmark, my entry into the field was well-considered.

Confidentiality and Impact on Children

In the writing of the research, I kept the birth-names of the participants anonymous. In writing their stories, I used alternative names that in no way exposed their legal identities. Before commencing on the research I explained to the children exactly what my research was about and consistently reminded them of this throughout the year.

From preliminary work conducted in Bluewaters Refugee Camp, it soon became clear that I needed to reanalyse what boundaries meant for me. I realised that what I had given in terms of not only listening and playing with the children, but also providing food, shelter and material things meant far more to them than I had imagined. Without critical thought, I had extended and inserted myself into their lives. I had become part of their lives, and was not just the researcher. We had impacted in one another's lives in ways I had not given prior thought to (Ibid). From this I learnt that I needed to be clear right from initial engagement who I was and what it was I could give to their lives. Through careful observation, vigilant and constant reflection, I endeavoured to remain as transparent as possible.

Vulnerability and Informed Consent

In this research study, the children become susceptible to a host of experiences that exposed their vulnerability. Through the process of storytelling and sharing, emotional sensitivities surfaced. It was thus important to create a safe space for the storytelling to unfold. This involved building relationships of trust with the children first before asking them to reflect upon the harsher experiences they have had.

During the first couple of hours of my first informal interaction with the children, we spent the day swimming in the public pools and then eating in the Company Gardens in Cape Town city centre as a means for us all to familiarise ourselves with one another. Our interaction on that morning indicated that they were understandably not entirely comfortable in my presence. Therefore, it was important to build trusting relationships slowly over time and travel at a pace dictated by the children themselves. If I had asked them then if they were keen to spend more time with me, I am sure I would have been answered with silence. A few months later, our interaction was markedly different. This slow approach of building relationships is also mentioned in an article written by Rachel Bray and Imke Gooskens about their ethnographic study of the everyday lives of young peoples in the Fishhoek valley. They say, “our approach was to treat the securing of consent *as* a gradual and emerging process, and one in which young people are capable of making an informed decision on the basis of experience and particular information” (Bray and Gooskens, 2006: 3).

All those who participated in this study signed a consent form (It must be noted that both adults and children alike were given a consent form to sign. The forms designed for children were simplified and I ensured that their participation in the research was clearly understood) that will outline what the research is about and the motivations behind the research. This was taken as standard procedure. Any research undertaken without informed consent ceased to be regarded in the analytical stage of the research. The methodological journey undertaken in this thesis was carefully considered and reflects the multiple and layered points of synergy and discord apparent in how people relate to each other and to their environment.

Literature Review

Within both the medical and social science disciplines, the study of children and childhoods is extensive. The multiplicity of theories about children, on children, and with children advises a multidisciplinary approach to data analyses. Before the 19th century, texts about and on children concerning their activities and their role in the wider community were already widely visible in the form of parental advisory texts from clergymen's and travellers' reports on the behaviours of children in settings that may have appeared different to the ones they had left behind (LeVine, 2007). Within the 19th century in Western countries, a particular interest in the wellbeing of children's rights was taken up with greater enthusiasm in literary and journalistic texts. Concern was given to the plight of children being economically exploited and steps were taken to abolish child labour and enrol children in school as a compulsory measure in what is described by Robert LeVine as the "child-saving" movement.

It was within this climate that anthropology entered the discussions around children and childhood. In the West, the marked attention given to children in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and the increasing attendance of children at schools, "called public attention to the process of learning and developmental change during childhood and stimulated the emergence of child psychology and educational psychology" (Ibid.: 248). This launch into the scientific analysis of childhood, situated future discussion within a particular rhetoric of child protectionism. This rhetoric created an image of children as vulnerable members of society. This image of vulnerability remains within the annals of perceptions on childhood and children and is particularly difficult to shake (Burman and Reynolds, 1986; Castaneda, 2002). It was only from the early 20th century that ethnographic accounts emerged as crucial texts on describing children and childhoods. The ethnographic works of Margret Mead that looked at children in Samoa (1928a; 1928b) and Bronislaw Malinowski's *The Sexual Life of Savages in North Western Melanesia* (1929) have certainly provided evidence for the cultural variations of understanding and reflecting upon child experiences and childhoods. These accounts left indelible impressions on how we approach and conceptualise children and childhoods (LeVine, 2007).

Franz Boas's work on plasticity¹¹ also added a dimension of analysis not previously present within the discussions (Synnott and Howes, 1992). His data supported the idea that not only is human growth influenced by environmental factors, but that it is also influenced by the gradual maturation of the human nervous system. The marrying of biology and childhood development thus meant that the "child's 'mental make-up' must also be affected by the social and geographical environment" (Boas, 1912: 217–218 in LeVine, 2007: 249). Following from this influential body of work, his students, namely Edward Sapir, Ruth Benedict and Margret Mead, went on to establish the culture and personality movement. It was presumed that thinking through childhood from the earlier psychological framework revealed little explanation when accounting for children and childhoods around the world. The tableau showed cracks and gaps in reflections that left expressions on childhood and children ambiguous and threadbare (LeVine, 2007).

The ethnographic models forwarded by early anthropologists served to remove the insistence to universalise experiences of children and childhoods (Jung, 1972), accounting for the diversity of possibilities of understanding children and childhoods. The increased inclusion of the ethnographical account shifted the lens of analysis from explanations of childhood to descriptions of childhood, where the scope of reflections in the latter part of the 20th century focused essentially on kinship, religion, the family, and sociality. John Whiting's six culture study (SCS) of socialisation, published in 1954, "described the variability of child rearing within a community as well as its culturally distinctive ideals and practices" (LeVine, 2007: 253). It is asserted that "the most enduring...contribution of the SCS may have been the introduction of systematic naturalistic observations of children – that is, repeated and aggregated observations of children in their routine 'behaviour settings' as a method for recording the interactions of children with their environments in diverse cultures" (Ibid.). After the 1960s the ethnographic lens of childhood shifted to incorporate children's social relationships, social participation (Lockhart, 2008; Burman and

¹¹ Cranial plasticity refers to the idea that the cranium responds to environmental forces during growth and development, and thus the cranium can be shaped primarily by environmental forces.

Reynolds, 1986; Reynolds, 1989; Reynolds, 1995) and the role linguistics played in their lives (Das, 1989; Lancy, 2007).

It would seem that this direction added to the tendency to view children as something other than adults, somehow different and estranged from the adult world. The premise for studying children and childhood reflected a detached and “othering” approach. Studying children seemingly became about studying the “other”, the “different”. Somehow it seems that the more interest shown in studying children and childhoods, the more “differential” they appear. Bearing this in mind, the study of children and childhoods can be moved forward in less objectifying ways by revisiting the ideas that may describe “the relationship between ‘childhood’ [and adulthood] as a social space, ‘children’ as a generational category, and ‘the child’ as an individual representative of that category and inhabitant of that space” (LeVine, 2007: 270). For example, imagine that life resembled a river and that the stages of growth, which are called childhood, adolescence and adulthood, are far more illusive and imaginary than we are taught to believe. One cannot name one stage of growth concretely. The person one is as a child is still the same person as an adult. Arguably, one is that child, as one is this adult. One inhabits the same body and has experienced the same things. So, when ideas about childhood are reflected upon as separate and distinct categories of life, life becomes less fluid, and more a taxonomy of experiences.

In reference to experiential knowledge and what the collected data reveal, one is all three stages all at once – child, youth, adult. Data shows that there are instances where children, adolescents and adults have had to shift from one stage to the other in order to survive – a child mothering her ill parents, an adolescent returning after war to re-configure their “lost” childhood, or an adult seeking security and protection from a child who then becomes the adult. The reification of life into stages of growth has encouraged an emerging anthropology of children and childhoods that takes into account the rights of children as set out in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in terms of three guiding principles of how we think around children and childhood. The convention articulates these principles as: protection, provision and participation. It is argued that this document was/is a “pivotal event, not only in the development of policies for children but also in terms of scholarship” (Bluebond-Langner and Korbin, 2007: 241). In her longitudinal work,

spanning over more than a decade on child labour on wine farms in South Africa, Susan Levine (1999) invites one to look beyond the myopia of legislation couched in protectionist rhetoric. Her work signals the importance of thinking about childhood through a sharper, more critical lens (2011). This push forward follows on from the emergent discourse spear-headed in the 1990s that asserted that children and indeed childhoods were a social construction and that their invisibility in social science statistical records indicated the conceptual marginality that the discourse experienced. It was highlighted that childhood operated within a political economy framework, where class, gender, history and geography (amongst other life experience-shaping factors) were all contingent on the idea and the construction of childhood. Another aspect that came to fruition was the understanding that “childhood and children’s social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right, and not just in respect to their social constructions by adults. This means that children must be seen as actively involved in the construction of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live” (James and Prout, 1990: 4). To further bring this aspect of paying closer attention to the things children say, do and play (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998), the performance genre (Fabian, 1990) of ethnography is a useful way to illicit experiences of the social experience of people, and in this particular instance, children.

Implicit within the UNCRC document is the claim to universality that is, at the outset, problematic, and counterposes the already vast ethnographic material available within anthropology. Dundas Renteln (1988), pointing to the epistemic problematique that arises from such definitions, states that the philosophical groundings of assertions to universalities are never sufficiently explicated, which undesirably makes for a rather dubious claim to universality. Similarly, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2008) highlights the necessity of going beyond Northern (or Western)-centred claims to universality asserting that Human Rights “are not universal in their application” (Santos, 2008: 12). He argues that the only universalism that can be posited is the idea that all cultures are relative. No universalism of one culture over another is applicable because of the obvious presence of a multitude of ways in which the world is culturally understood. Indeed, cultures have differing understandings of children and childhood. Furthermore, for South Africa, the adoption of international legislation prohibiting child labour failed to address the deeper socio-political and economic

reasons that result in child labour. Important localised contexts (particularly child-centred dialogue and feedback) were not considered, resulting in a deepening presence of hunger, crime and childhood poverty (Levine, 2011). This is exemplary of the loop-holes that universalism in relation to child rights create.

Despite this weakness, the Convention's three underlying principles – protection, provision, and participation – encourage a particular kind of sensitivity and awareness to include the perceptions of children. It is the third principle that I wish to draw attention to. This principle has been essential in stimulating research and policy agendas that include the perspective of children as agential members of society (Sartain, Clarke and Heyman, 2000). Anthropology's long history of emic-encounters along with the orientation toward multivocality, mixes agreeably with a new emerging interest in how to better describe and share the lifeworlds and perspectives of children and childhoods. It is important, however, to retain the knowledge of the structural reification within which children and childhood operate, and to keep in mind the idea that children do not experience the world without the influence of emotional, social and political densities (Bluebond-Langner and Korbin, 2007).

The figuring of children into social science theory can be further understood using Jean Piaget's model developed in the 1920s that asserted a linear trajectory along which children travel to an eventuality that is adulthood. In this reflection, children are viewed as being in a process of becoming. They are people who are not complete. They are people in the making as opposed to adults who are complete, whole and made. According to Sandra Burman and Pamela Reynolds (1986), the prevailing perception on children is that their opinions and perspectives are "unformed...their actions without consequences of importance until such time as they are old enough to take their place in the social machinery" (Burman and Reynolds, 1986: 1). This idea is discussed in Claudia Castaneda's timely book, *Figurations*. She asserts that prevailing perceptions across cultures inform society that children's lives act as conduits to an eventuality that is adulthood. Castaneda points to the underlying assumptions that children are adults in the making, who must be equipped with the necessary skills/functionalities in order to navigate themselves through to adulthood. Furthermore, how a child gets treated will hugely affect the adult he or she will become (Castaneda, 2002). Castaneda argues that "embedded within these

assumptions is a conceptualisation of the child as a potentiality rather than an actuality, a becoming rather than a being: an entity in the making” (Ibid.:1). She goes on to state that there is an implicit message or fact that “a child is by definition not yet that which it alone has the capacity to become” (Ibid.).

Castaneda employs the notion of a figured body as a descriptive tool for accounting for the presence of the child in discourses. Figuration is used as a lens in which one can come to understand the processes “through which the child is brought into being as a figure, as well as the bodies and worlds that this figure generates through a plurality of forms” (Ibid.: 4). Figuration is also used to highlight or bring into being different landscapes of meaning. There are multiple figurations and these all exist within differing sites of power and value. The increasing visibility of the multiplicity of lifeworlds by default opens up deeper reflection on how children experience life. Certainly, there is a greater visibility of children around the world that stems from the attention to the effects of global economic and social movements on communities. These studies have generated awareness of the idea that “children are not only acted on by adults but [are] also agents of political change and cultural interpretation” (Bluebond-Langner and Korbin, 2007: 242). Thus, as the basis of interrogation, the intention behind this research is to position the study of children and childhood not as a separate and “othered” field, but rather it is viewed that this study could be useful to integrate the discourse on children and childhood into a more “multivocal, multipersepective view of culture and society” (Ibid.).

Of course no one site is the same as another, and each study on children and childhoods that is presented offers commentary or analysis that is location specific, and occurs within a rubric of socio-political history and a loose frame of time. It is important that this insistence be maintained through the reading of this research. In extension to the idea of the necessity of incorporating the study of children and childhoods as a means to have a “multivocal” and “multiperspective” reflection of life, Allison James (2007) articulates the problems in trying to “give voice” to children. These are evidenced in three ways – claims to authenticity, the plurality of voices, and the nature of participation in the research process. Claiming authenticity negates the fact that the presenter of “the voice” has in no way contributed to the shaping of that “voice”. Claims to authenticity deny the presence of framing.

Arguably, however, every text is framed within a specific ideologue (Goffman, 1974; Lindholm, 2007). Additionally, there is a multipresence of children's perspectives that cannot be clumped as giving one voice. The numerous ethnographies on children and childhood describe a variety of voices and perspectives that cannot claim to speak as one united voice on children and childhoods. David Lancy says, "the ways in which modern, well-to-do Westerners view and treat their children is unique in the annals of culture. But because we invent the theories and write the textbooks, our views are taken as the norm" (Lancy, 2008: 1). Lancy's view is valid. With this in mind, where does it place the discussion about children's rights and, more particularly, how can we look beyond the three-pronged lens of protection, provision, and participation in relation to children growing up in temporary sites and settings? In regards to these guiding principles, it is a given that there are certain limitations to how, when and under what circumstances children can and do participate, when they may need protection, and when the provision of basic necessities is imperative. Moreover, it is important to reflect upon the ethical dimensions involved and how in turn these shape how children and researchers interact (James, 2007). To what extent can the lifeworlds of children be brought into the debate? How far can we actually go?

In answering these questions, James sees Clifford Geertz as integral to ensuring or offering a way in which the representations and voices of children can be accounted for or described. Applying Geertz's "thick description" (Geertz, 1973), a concept borrowed from philosopher Gilbert Ryle, attention to the meanings of phenomena is essential. It is argued that framing (i.e. how phenomena are interpreted and what interpretations are fitted in or left out when research takes place) plays an important role for researchers, in that they must foster critical awareness that involves producing detailed description and reflexivity throughout their research process and delivery. Experience near (what informants feel, think, live) and experience distant (what the ethnographer employs to forward his or her hypotheses) are important reflexive tools to use. Geertz implores one to ask: Who and what is the whole ethnography about? What exactly have you seen or chosen to show and is it really evidence of the voice of ones participants? "Understanding the form and pressure of (participants') inner lives is more like grasping a proverb, catching an allusion, seeing a joke – or, as I have suggested, reading a poem." (Geertz, 1983: 70). One may never definitively give

voice to children, one can only be humbled at the gift of receiving a story and, in turn, deliver a good anthropological text (Geertz, 1988).

Integral to the research process is an awareness that one need not only “document what children say but also accompany those statements with accounts of how what they say is played out with attention to the social and cultural constraints in operation at the time” (Bluebond-Langner and Korbin, 2007: 243) and how as a researcher you are implicitly involved. For James, giving voice to children is not where the research ends. One is reminded that “exploring the unique contribution to our understanding of and theorizing about our social world” (Ibid.: 262) through the data that children provide, is when research becomes a valuable contribution. Hence, the children who were part of this research provide a standpoint, a position to analyse our social world, not a definitive reflection of an embodied world of children’s experiences in a temporary relocation camp.

The second chapter of this thesis offers an introduction to six children who were primary participants in the research process. In this meeting, chapter two provides insight into the context of everyday violence within which children make sense of life in a temporary relocation camp. Their conception of their lifeworlds frequently became linked to the presence or absence of violence, where relief was sought in their future movement out of Blikkiesdorp. It is argued that violence positions itself as a primary and definitive anchor in the lives of children in these sites. Chapter three then discusses how children living in Blikkiesdorp negotiate space, place and identity. How they spoke about identity revolved around the violence in the space they inhabited and from which they felt powerless to escape. In keeping with the theme of violence, chapter four maps out the violence experienced in relation to space and movement. Marrying Bourdieu’s concept of “habitus” with an analysis of stories they shared, and map-making exercises, a clear picture of the geography of movement is created. Furthermore, the concept of internal displacement is used to coordinate this exploration showing how movement in this context is movement out of violence and into an environment of safety.

Using a body-mapping exercise in which the children took part, chapter five begins with an in-depth discussion about the body and how illness and wellness are felt in

and on the body. This chapter also explores the impact that environmental conditions have on the body and how these relate to an embodied experience of the world. The discussion incorporates phenomenological conceptualisations of the body, and ends with a reflection on what the children regard as a healthy home. Chapter six presents a compelling drama of internalised and expressive violence created from the imagination of the children. Through the narrative voice and theatrical performance, a tragic tale of kinship, love and loss is explored against a backdrop of violence in an imaginary community in South Africa. Themes explored within this play include gangsterism, drugs, teenage pregnancy, multiple partners and generational conflict. The children called this play “Neighbourhood”, and reflected upon it as a descriptive performance about their daily lives.

The violence experienced in this temporary relocation site is situated as the primary entry point through which an analysis of children’s experiences in such sites is explored. Looking at the experiences of children living in TRAs, in terms of how they make meaning of violence, safety and home, the research shows the explicit rawness (Ross, 2010) and palpable violence of life in these sites. The violence experienced is something akin to a warzone. Alcinda Honwana, in her writing about the effects of displacement on children’s health and wellbeing, explains the similarities or parallels between children exposed to violence and those exposed to war. Similarly to children who experience war, those living in temporary sites and settings witness terrible atrocities and suffer from trauma. It is shown that the violence of wars and other forms of conflict have profound and lasting effects on young people (Honwana, 2006). This thesis is testament to that assertion.

2 Meeting the Children



The Big Blue tent in which Creative Education sessions were held

Every Saturday my assistant Maxine and I headed into Blikkiesdorp to spend a greater part of the morning and afternoon with six children living there: Laelynn, Gabriel, Sameerah, Aalif, Jafari and Faizah. Initially, our presence there was met with a gang of excited children aged roughly from three to nine. If they were not pushing, biting and punching each other to get closer to the tent¹² they were pulling out the tent pins. Maxine and I, along with Kobus and Mr Bhajaan (young fathers who lived in Blikkiesdorp), had strenuously plugged into the compacted grit. Some would throw stones at the tent then curiously peer in, and others would push against the canvas

¹² Within the annals of ethnographic research, Malinowski's use of his legendary tent from which classic accounts of his field work among the Trobriand Islanders were conducted - see *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) - finds resonance almost a century later in a dust-swept expanse on the fringes of Cape Town city.

walls of the tent. Inside, Laelynn, Gabriel, Sameerah, Aalif, Jafari and Faizah would beat against the insides of the walls and hurl insults at them; “Jy!! Ek sal vir jou moer!” (You!! I will beat you!).

Premised on the idea that violence announces itself as a key description of how these particular children understood and explained their experiences of living in a TRA, this chapter explores the theme of violence in TRAs through the children’s reflections and daily movements in and around the TRA. The discussion begins with an introduction to six children who acted as my primary participants in the research, and later shows how violence presents itself as a major theme in their wishes to live in a different area. These wishes are then mapped onto a large idea: that violence in Blikkiesdorp is part of a longer socioeconomic and historical track born out of years of repressive apartheid rule (Glanz and Spiegel, 1996). This argument is further echoed in the stories shared by the parents of the children and other community elders.

Violence was the identifying lens through which the children articulated their feelings and thoughts about life in a TRA. The presence of violence was so palpable and so readily available for discussion that some of our first discussions were about their experiences with gangsters, rape, abuse and neglect. Children revealed their daily struggle of living through violence in a temporary space, finding meanings in a web of violent communication and expression. Ironically they fostered a sense of immobility or “stuckness” (as explained by Gabriel when he shared with me that he could “do nothing to change [his circumstances] because [he was] just a child”) in a space created for those living in perpetual mobility/temporality. Gabriel’s sense of being unable to alter and change his reality was similarly shared by Jafari’s reflections on being free to move and play in safety. Jafari said: “Before I used to live in Cape Town, and before that we was in Congo. I was free there. Here I am not free.”



Entrance to Blikkiesdorp

Early Beginnings

The heat of the sun gathered into our little blue tent. All around us, the dust darted around, in and amongst the running feet of a gathering crowd of children. Inside the tent, four children sat in expectant silence, sweat beads forming on their foreheads, their clothes dampening in the midday haze. I can remember the smell of the heat against my body on that day – a hot mixture of patchouli and sandalwood. I was wearing a green, flower print dress and a bright orange cloth wrapped on my head. As I moved around the tent, placing paints and brushes on the table in front of them, my bangles clanked with every movement and my earrings clinked with every jerk of my head. There was a nervous thrill in the tiny space as I moved. Their eyes followed me.

Round our tent were young people playing. A volunteer working with us was playing with 25 toddlers and, about three meters from them, two women were physically fighting with each other while several more children looked on, their faces and bodies frozen in the summer heat. I remember allowing my eyes to take a panoramic mental picture. There was sound all around us. Young boys were engaged in team sport, their wild laughter careened across the soccer pitch, children screamed in elation, two women shouted at each other, following their shouts with hefty blows that thudded dully as contact was made, fist-to-flesh. Then there was the eerie silence of a group of children witnessing the violence unfold. Inside the tent Laelynn, Sameerah, Aalif and Faizah sat, patiently waiting for me to formally begin what was to be a year of learning and working together. I would meet Gabriel and Jafari a few weeks after Creative Education had established itself as a reliable presence in the TRA.



Each girl in the group was seated with a younger sister on her lap. Laelynn kissed the top of Michelle's head and Michelle nuzzled closer to her chest. Thirteen year old¹³ Laelynn is the third oldest amongst five children in her family, and the eldest girl. As a result of her being the eldest female child in the family she had a lot of responsibility, which she bore alone. As Susan Levine outlines in her article on child labour in the winelands (a similarity I draw here given the comparable socioeconomic circumstance within which people in Blikkiesdorp live): "The demands on girls' time is often more onerous. Girls...often carry the weight of domestic chores alongside or in the absence of their mothers. They are responsible for the care of infant siblings, laundry and fetching water" (Levine, 1999: 140). Caring for her 3 year old sister Michelle was Laelynn's responsibility when her mother was away at work over the weekends and during the week. Being the eldest female in the family it was assumed this was her responsibility. She did not question this role within her family and accepted it without complaint. In fact, she explained to me that she enjoyed looking after her little sister and the house when her mother was away at work. Her father lived with Parkinson's, a degenerative illness, and was unemployed. When I first met her parents Laelynn was, as she described later, "embarrassed" about her father's condition. She said that a lot of people – including extended family members – made cruel comments about his condition and the family's financial standing as a result.

When extended family and neighbours hurled insults at Laelynn and her immediate family, she explained that it did not matter what they thought, despite it making her feel sad. The nature of this violence made Laelynn understand that keeping the company of others outside your kin was setting yourself up as an easy mark. In her opinion, it was better to keep fewer friends than many: "I do not have that many close friends. I just leave friends, so always Gabriel and I play inside. I did have friends, but after some time they didn't want to play with me anymore, so I cried because they didn't want to play with me. Now, friends is not a big issue. You don't need friends. I don't need friends." She later added – when Sameerah said that she liked having friends – that Sameerah was one of her closest friends. She differentiated between friends at home and the friends she had at school. Her school friends were "very supportive and stuff like that. When I feel sad, then they are also sad. Or when they

¹³ At the time of the study in 2011, these were their ages.

don't feel like being sad, they make the day *lekker* ("nice") and stuff." When she was not responsible for her little sister and other household duties, she said her "favourite hobbies [are] dancing, playing, modelling, laughing [and] singing." She also liked playing netball and "hanging out, doing nothing" with her friends in Blikkiesdorp. She would like to be a social worker when she is an adult.

I would only meet Gabriel much later when his curiosity nudged him onto one of the foldable stools I always came equipped with. On this particularly hot day, Gabriel was not in the tent. He later told me that he had not been interested in coming over to the tent because he thought we "were doing boring things". Gabriel is Laelynn's younger brother and is 11 years old. His favourite sports were rugby and soccer. At school he helped his teacher as a first-aider for the athletics team; "A lot of injuries happen on the field so I help there." The conversations I had with Gabriel were rarely about the friendships he kept with people but took on a more reflective account of his sadness at living in Blikkiesdorp. "I don't like living here," he said. "It's not a safe place. A lot of people is getting stealed here [people are being robbed], a lot of people is getting dead here." When I asked what he could do to change things, he replied "I can do nothing to change it because I am just a child." For Gabriel, the prevalence of violence wrought havoc in his life. His frustration at not being able to move out of violence echoed Jafari's sentiments of not being free. Freedom to choose a different home remained at the centre of most of our conversations. What I observed was that he was protective of his family's wellbeing and guarded those he loved with a watchful and cautious eye. Sharing his reflections on his daily life did not happen easily and he was quite vigilant about whom he shared with, and the motivation behind peoples' questions and/or interest in him. When we first met he said that he would like to be a doctor but later, after our year together, he said that he wanted to be an actor as he found great joy in theatre and performance.

Sameerah and her little sister Shameela sat to the right of Laelynn. They shuffled uncomfortably in their seats signalling that my preparation time was running into overtime. Sameerah was 13 years old. She is the eldest of three girls but did not maintain the same responsibilities of care that Laelynn had to bear. Both her parents were unemployed until recently when her father found a job working in a factory in

the industrial side of Cape Town. Her mother was always home to care for her and her younger siblings. When she becomes an adult she said she would like to be a “crime judge”. She said “My favourite things to do is doing sport, dancing, laughing, doing funny things.” She liked talking about her achievements, and shared with me that she competed in the “Champs of Champs” (an athletics event held annually in the Western Cape) in competition with the whole of the Western Cape.

Sameerah liked to talk about boys and the relationships she had with them. She was happy to announce to me that she had a boyfriend who was 14 years old. They said they loved each other very much. He was not her first boyfriend. At one point, she and Gabriel were “boyfriend and girlfriend” but that ended a few weeks after it had begun. Most of the stories she relates about friendships reflect her appreciation of her friends “being there for her”. Telling one of these stories, in relation to being caught kissing by a teacher, she said “I am very naughty in school, but my friends are always on my side evens if what I did was wrong. All of them just stand [with me]. Like the next day when I saw Sir, who we got in trouble with the day before, I just start laughing. Then he asks me what I am laughing at and I told him the real story and he just done nothing. I told him it was just a game.” Laelynn added “because he also had his days when he was young.” Typically Sameerah’s stories of friendships are about her female friends “going out with boys” and the explorations that are shared within these love relationships. She enjoyed having a boyfriend and reminded me that “so long as I don’t do wrong things with the boyfriend, like sleeping in the bed. He must know when it is the right time. He’s not going to force me!” Being able to delineate boundaries of what was acceptable sexually was very important to Sameerah.

Sameerah had already experienced sexual violence, and her mother worried that a place like Blikkiesdorp made it difficult to protect her daughter from boys and men. Her mother’s protective eye did not and could not reach the classrooms and moments of “alone time” Sameerah found. Her curiosity about sexuality, ushered in a vibrant voice of defiance at anyone who approached her in a way that made her uncomfortable. She boldly stated “If I just tell him that I’m not in the mood, then he must know not to touch me or keep my mouth [continue kissing her]!” Her directness in speaking her boundaries is reflective of the increasing awareness of sexual rights

and sexuality knowledge emerging amidst a massive Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic in South Africa, where the epidemic remains the largest in the world, with about 40 percent of all adult women with *Human Immunodeficiency Virus* (HIV) living in Southern Africa (UNAIDS/WHO, 2010: 28). Whilst these numbers may engender an overwhelming depressive mood for South Africa, there has been much progress both in preventative efforts and in treatment programmes. It is stated that behaviour, especially that of young people, has begun to change and highlights behaviour change as an important marker explaining the recent declines in new HIV infections. “‘Amongst young people in 15 of the most severely affected countries, HIV prevalence has fallen by more than 25 percent as these young people have adopted safer sexual practices.’ Such practices include condom use, a reduction in engaging in sexual activity with multiple partners and delaying the onset of sexual activity” (UNAIDS/WHO, 2010: 9 in McLaughlin et al., 2012: 2). McLaughlin et al. (2012) also highlight the role the Department of Education (DoE) in South Africa has played in shifting attitudes and behaviour around sex and sexuality.¹⁴ Sameerah’s awareness of her sexual rights positioned her to negotiate what she wanted in the relationships she fostered with boyfriends.

Sitting in the corner of the tent, Aalif attentively watched my every move. He was 13 years old. He liked going to mosque and singing. He said, “I like to smoke Oca-pipe and also I attend Gaafi school.”¹⁵ His favourite sport was rugby. When asked about living in Blikkiesdorp he said “It is nice to live in Blikkiesdorp, but not actually, because when it is hot, people get frustrated because it is hot. People get sick from the hot. When it’s cold, people get cold and sick.” He lived with an acute case of eczema that left his skin with open wounds that became infected. When talking about his skin condition, he said that he felt an enormous discomfort both physically and socially.

¹⁴ See McLaughlin et al. for further reading on children’s knowledge of sex and AIDS in Africa. The content of the book provides an incisive account and commentary on children’s knowledge around sexuality, violence and its multiple meanings. Wood et al. in their ethnographic account titled, “Showing Roughness in a Beautiful Way” also discusses violence and sexuality amongst young people in a township in the former Transkei region in South Africa. This article is an ethnographic account and an exploration of the range of practices relating to sexual coercion and rape amongst these young people. The ethnography reveals deeper exchanges of sexual entitlement, violence and victimhood.

¹⁵ Gaafi school is a special Islamic-based educational system whereby you are inducted into becoming an Imam.

He sometimes had great difficulty in mobility as a result of open sores on his legs and hands. Symbolically, his skin portrayed his internal wellness. Cecil Helman (2001) describes “the body’s existence [as] always shaped and altered by cultural notions of *space* [original emphasis]” (Helman, 2001: 22). Appearing ill on the outside exacerbated the challenges his external environment pressed upon him and, although he appeared to be in discomfort, he maintained that he was “feeling alright”. He also had asthma. He never liked to talk about how he felt about his skin and respiratory condition, avoiding associations of ill-health with how he experienced life. He blamed his environment for his conditions, expressing that Blikkiesdorp was not a “good” place to live. The “balance” (Helman, 2001) of his “habitus” (Bourdieu, 1990) hung in the great socioeconomic divide, apparent in the South African landscape. The conversations I had with Aalif varied in their nature. When asked about the things he enjoyed the most, he chose to speak about mosque and singing as a “minstrel”.¹⁶

During the year in which I grew to know him he took part in, or rather was initiated through, an intensive right-of-passage ritual where he had to pierce various parts of his body and cut his forearms in a systematic series of lines. Journeying through this ritual afforded him the ability to keep elder male company and to smoke Oca-pipe as a leisure activity. Similarly to the ritual practice for Sambia boys being initiated into manhood (Herdt, 1987), Aalif embraced his new role as a young man, enjoying his newly established rights to be involved in exclusive male activities. Furthermore, for Sambia boys, their ritual officially marked the separation from maternal influences, ushering in distinct gender differences. I observed Aalif solidifying gender roles over the year and this newfound conviction of roles and responsibilities meant that a lot of the previous housework chores fell on his sisters’ shoulders. He was quite pleased to not have to do them anymore since being initiated. He said “washing clothes is for girls. I don’t do that stuff!” When he gets older he would like to be an imam. He felt that his attendance at Gaafi school on top of his usual madrasa classes would be useful in fulfilling this dream.

¹⁶ The minstrel show that Aalif refers to is part of a performance culture particular to Cape Town where people don brightly coloured striped outfits and parade. Music typically played at such parades is *Goema Goema* music and the minstrels, that Aalif enjoys being part of, sing and dance along.

Jafari, the youngest of the six children, was 11 years old at the time of our meeting and had refugee status. His family of nine – he had six brothers and sisters and was the second youngest boy – fled from the DRC in 2006. He fondly remembered his experience of the DRC. He said “I used to be free. [Here in South Africa] you can’t even take long outside [one cannot enjoy playing outside the home for extended periods of time]. At 5 o’clock you must be back in the house because there is too much gangsters here.” He went on to say, “sometimes I like living here [in Blikkiesdorp]. I like playing soccer and drawing. My favourite thing to draw is Dragon Ball Z.” He did not know how long he had been in South Africa and had lost track of the whereabouts of some of his family. He thought they were “somewhere here in Cape Town. I don’t know.” His family fled the DRC when he was still very young (6 years old). Since being in South Africa he had experienced the violent attacks of 2008 when local South Africans brutally terrorised the general “black foreigner” population. He loved playing PlayStation, playing cops and robbers with his friends and generally enjoyed living in Blikkiesdorp. He did not seem to worry about his living conditions and was generally quite “happy” in his life. Whilst he was acutely aware of the prevalence of violence in Blikkiesdorp, he always joked about the dangers involved in being exposed to different forms of violence. Seemingly, violence took on less important definitions and rather it was the friendships and games he took part in that figured definitively in his life experience.

When he gets older he would like to be a bus driver. He wrote, “I think [bus-drivers] get paid a lot of money. If I had this money, I could give it to my family because my family is important to me.” His mother was a single parent; he did not know where his father was – he thought he may have passed away when he was four but was not sure. He said some drug dealers shot his father and that was as much as his mother would tell him. I later learned that his father was well and alive and living in Namibia. His mother told me that she decided a long time ago that “the best thing for my children is to stay in one place. We are too many to keep moving.”

Faizah, who had her little sister Rushka propped on top of her, was the last of the girls. They sat to the right of Sameerah. Rushka was smiling widely as I laid the last white shirt on the floor, next to the table full of paints, brushes and jars of water.

Faizah was 14 years old. She was born in Somalia and her little sister and parents had spent the past eight years in South Africa. She was having an exceedingly difficult time as she would often be subjected to a torrent of insults and name-calling games. These experiences spurred her longings to leave South Africa and head for America. America offered her “a life that would be better”. She had heard of refugee families who had relocated there and who reported, through familial networks, that life in America was far better than in South Africa. Despite this, she said she “enjoy[ed] playing netball and likes living in Blikkiesdorp.” In a video entry that was to be shared with some children in America as one of the projects I ran, she said she liked living in Blikkiesdorp because she “has a lot of friends”. Although she spoke about enjoying living in Blikkiesdorp and having many friends, what I observed was that, on many occasions, she was subjected to name-calling and ridicule by her age-mates. Her peers would single her out and begin their assault. This was especially so when her mother would arrive to enquire into what she and her friends were doing. Faizah would snap at her mother, shouting in Somali. The nature of these exchanges between mother and daughter were awkward to watch. Her mother would turn to me for assurance that her daughter was as she would say repeatedly, “very naughty” and Faizah would in turn push her away, hurling her upsetness in words. When her mother finally left, Faizah would say “My mother is crazy, she’s crazy. She always thinks I am doing funny things with boys, boys, boys!” The other children would laugh and Faizah would find meagre amounts of solace and acceptance in those fleeting moments. Soon, however, the jeering would begin as Faizah’s friends chastised her for not showing respect towards her mother or conversely they would make rude jokes about her mother. Faizah in turn would smile nervously, unconvincingly masking her discomfort.

Sameerah said, “when she first arrived in Blikkiesdorp [Faizah] had a lot of friends but because she makes up bad stories about us she lost all of them.” Jafari who, like Faizah, used to stay on the same refugee campsite (Bluewaters Site C) before their families were moved to Blikkiesdorp, agreed that Faizah made up lies about other children. He said that she used to do this in the previous refugee camp and that this was not a “new thing”. Faizah shrugged or shifted her gaze to the floor as she listened to what Laelynn, Sameerah and Jafari said. In my observations, I saw that she found it

difficult to express herself as she was not fluent in any South African language. Choosing rather to say nothing at all for fear of being ridiculed, she answered, “I don’t know” to most of the questions I asked her. During her time in South Africa she too had experienced the violent attacks of 2008 against foreigners. Her constant movement as an asylum seeker also meant that she had been unable to attend school regularly. Consequently her last attended grade was Grade 2 when, at age 14, should have been in Grade 6. She did not know what she wanted to become when she became an adult. Faizah experienced the violence of not fitting into new spaces where friendships were central to gaining leverage (Greenspan and Salmon, 1994; Salamé, 2004). She was much too old to make mutually dependable relationships in the classroom setting (her classmates being aged seven and eight); she spoke only Somali fluently, and was still learning the language of her peers (Afrikaans); she was also classified as a *kwerekwere* (a foreigner) and therefore “ugly” and undesirable to boys, which made her sad as she tried hopelessly to hide her growing interest in creating love relationships with them.



Painting T-shirts

Finally I had completed setting up the inside of the tent. Each child had an apron spread open, ready for painting. The paints and brushes were neatly arranged on the table. We were ready to make our t-shirt aprons. I introduced them to Creative Education, explaining that I was there to listen to their stories and encourage their self-expression. I said that I wanted to share with them some creative projects that I enjoyed teaching and that this would continue every Saturday for one year. I also explained that this was part of my studies (my ethnographic methodology) at the University of Cape Town and that, after our year together, I would be leaving to write about some of the stories they shared. I added that if that was something they were interested in doing with me then we could begin as soon as we had verbally promised one another to show up to every session. They all agreed quickly, and so our year began.

Establishing an open, relaxed and informal arena for the children to share stories contributed to the in-depth quality present in their reflections. The presence of violence in their everyday lives struck me as crucial in terms of how the children

configured a sense of space, place and identity. From their reflections, I located their experience into the wider historical and political environment, using their parents' experience of violence, forced removals and dislocation.

Placing the Prevalence of Violence in TRAs in an Historical Framework



Through our wish-making project, the children made “wishing mobiles” that could be hung in their houses. The completed craft was bejewelled with bright beads and colourful feathers. With each binding of wool across stick, the children enveloped their wishes, silently reciting them repeatedly. The atmosphere in the room was divinely quiet; each child attentively weaving their wishes into colour. In our discussions after completing the mobile the children reflected on some of their thoughts. “You know, it’s just like we want to live in a house, out of Blikkies. Anywhere you know? Anywhere but here. We never wanted to even be here.” Leaving Blikkiesdorp was something the children spoke about often, without resolve. The enormity of managing the housing backlog with its estimate of “over 2.1 million households lacking adequate housing (and millions more lacking access to basic services)” (Tissington, 2011: 8) was a task that the children could not answer. The main factor that inspired their wishes to leave Blikkiesdorp was the prevalence of violence. Aalif said “I saw someone get shot many times. Like when we were living in the RDP houses, then there was court cases and everything, then the cops came to chase us out and everything, then they shot on the people. And they shot one boy there through the foot.”



Making wishing mobiles

When speaking to the parents of the children, they too impressed upon me their disdain at the prevalence of violence within the TRA. Their reflections took a more historical and political slant as they shared their resentment at being “dumped” in Blikkiesdorp and the continuity of violence that had followed from the initial forced removals during apartheid. Sameerah’s father, a community leader in Blikkiesdorp, shared the following:

I have been staying here for three years. And before this I was staying in Maitland and Mitchells Plain. We were renting a house there. We can't afford to make bank loans and house loans and things like that. So I moved with my family say about to 12 different places in this whole Western Cape. The first place we stayed in was Mitchells Plain. That was in 1987. When Sameerah was born we moved to Maitland. Before Mitchells Plain I came from District Six. I was born there. It was in apartheid times. All of the people staying in District Six were moved. They built us houses in Retreat, Lavender Hill and the Flats. They throw down all the houses there in District Six. The government said they were going to use the spaces, that they needed them and that we should go. I was eight when we had to move.

When I was a child, I didn't understand what was happening, but as I got older, we started to ask questions to our parents. And they told us what happened. We learnt the history from our parents through the stories they told us. We grew up, we asked questions and then went back to where we used to stay and we saw only empty grounds. It's still empty there, but the government said they wanted to use that land...but they didn't build anything there. My parents showed us where we used to stay. It was heart breaking. It's heart breaking because they put us in a place where violence is growing. Retreat at that time was not a place for us to grow up in. Our family was not involved in things like that. They didn't bring us up in violence like that. So, from there, my parents chose to move from Retreat to Mitchells Plain. We were the first family to move into Mitchells Plain. That time it was not that big. As a place grows, it develops and starts to have drugs and things like that.

When we had grown up we went our different ways. I got married, rented a house here and there. Six places in Mitchells Plain, from there we moved to Delft, Delft to Maitland, back to Delft. I'm on a waiting list now for 20 years. I'm waiting for a house. We're still not in a house, so they dumped us here, here in Blikkiesdorp.

Sameerah's father mentions the violence that had marked his movements across the Western Cape. During the years from 1960 through to 1983, the former government, led by the National Party, implemented what is known as the Group Areas Act, which

legislated residential segregation throughout the country, resulting in the largest forced, mass removals of people in modern history. It is estimated that 3.5 million people were forcibly removed. Millions of people identified as non-white were moved to resettlement camps in homelands or bantustans with no services or jobs. These small tracts of land were for many an introduction to poverty. These removals were a calculated administrative device aimed at removing citizenship and thus political rights from the majority of the black population of South Africa under the apartheid policy (South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid; Building Democracy, 2013). Once citizenship was removed, you lost your identity as a South African. Apartheid policy in South Africa was, as Piet Cillié, editor of *Die Burger* from 1954 to 1978, said, “a pragmatic and tortuous process aimed at consolidating the leadership of a nationalist movement in order to safeguard the self-determination of the Afrikaner” (Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1989: 63). It was an institutionalised system of segregation where difference meant that you did not belong.



(Picture Source (b): Apartheid in South Africa)

When the time of democratic transition arrived in 1994, approximately 60,000 white farmers owned over 80 percent of agricultural land while 11 million non-whites lived in rural poverty (see Map 1).¹⁷

Map 1



Given this particular history of South Africa, it is not an oddity that it suffers from massive social and economic inequalities that potentially give rise to violence. For many South African households, 18 years after the restrictive policies of apartheid ended, little change has been made to their experience of forced removals, poverty and inequality. As Aunty Martha stingingly remarks, “This is a new government, but the same thing did happen in old apartheid. The same way, yes! When they evicted you from the piece of land, if you don’t move by yourself they send in the police, the law enforcement, whatever. The same thing happens now, but we have a new government. So why we got a new government but the same things happen like in old apartheid?”

¹⁷ May, Julian (ed.) (2000). *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa: Meeting the Challenge*. Cape Town: David Philip and London & New York: Zed Books. p. 2.

Similarly to Sameerah's father, Aunty Martha's first introduction to forced removals was in the 1960s when her family were forcibly removed from Fish Hoek (an area that had been reclaimed as a "whites only" space) and placed in Retreat where other "coloured" families from other areas were also being moved. She remembers the time as confusing and found the relocation dynamics challenging. She had to change schools, change friends and also change the language she spoke at home (she had grown up as an English-speaking child). It is this initial dislocation that set the rhythm for years of restless motion. Since that first removal, she has moved more times than she can recall. She said, as she looked despondently at the ground, that she had moved "many times in [her] life". Her eyes rose to meet mine as she softly laughed at how she could not count how many times she had moved. Her laughter was hollow, joyless and left a silence as it slipped into a deep sigh, marking what Donna Goldstein brings to attention in her work in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro. Goldstein says, "Unable to revolt, they use their laughter to oppose official Brazilian racial, class and gender ideology. Laughter reveals the fault lines in social relations" (Goldstein, 2003: 35). In Aunty Martha's context, laughter "masked and revealed the anger and sorrow at the kinds of everyday violence experienced" (Ibid: 37). Much like Goldstein's initial response to "laughter out of place" (Ibid: 18), I smiled with effort, unable to find the words for an appropriate response.

Aunty Martha's story typifies the experiences of other adults I met while working in Blikkies. The parents of the children I worked with all remembered being forcibly removed as children under apartheid's policies. They spoke of the violence that has "chased" (Sameerah's father) them across the South African landscape ever since. For the majority of people living in Blikkiesdorp, their arrival there was accompanied by violence. Whether people were forcibly removed from underneath bridges, road-side squatting or illegal occupancy of land and/or buildings, violence as a measure of control had been used.¹⁸ The creation of Blikkiesdorp as an emergency site for people faced with the reality of existing on the margins of civil social behaviour, has constructed a ghostly image of Foucault's discussions on the body, the state, discipline and punishment (Foucault, 1975). For the majority of people living within the camp

¹⁸ See the following online newspaper articles for reports on forced removals in the current socio-political climate of South Africa: Sibongakonke, 2012; Prince and Solomons, 2010; Smith, 2010.

enclosure, violence was their entry point, their daily experience and certainly (without recourse to alternative avenues for socioeconomic change) will be their future reality. The government's intention to forcibly organise social life in post-apartheid South Africa, seemingly ignoring the diversity of the root causes of displacement and poverty, the violence within temporary relocation camps escalates.

Added here are two inserts from a deeply moving ethnographic book written and edited by the Symphony Pavement Dwellers and titled, *No Land, No House, No Vote*:

We thought that we had a right to have a house. I thought that my children deserved to be able to say that they have a roof over their heads. To be able to stay at one place for more than a month or a year....The morning of the 19th we got a knock on the door [RDP houses people had illegally occupied and that Auntie Martha mentioned above] telling me that the police had come with Army trucks. So my children wake up and came outside to see all those police. People were scared and children were crying” (Symphony Way Pavement Dwellers, 2011: 15).

“On February 19th, I was evict from that house I wake up at 5:30am to see the [w]hole street full of police, trucks, people and more police. We did have a big fight that day. The police did put other people furniture on the trucks. They used foreigners to do their dirty work. When it was my turn in the afternoon, my things were already on the pavement of Symphony Way...The police makes a huge shooting between the people that was evicted from the houses. We were fighting with them. Rubber bullets were hurting the people. Two of my friends were hit. One on the back and the other on the leg” (Ibid.: 20)

These inserts above are only a couple amongst a host of stories of violent forced removals that families living in Blikkiesdorp have experienced. For the families living in Blikkiesdorp, making life in a temporary relocation camp has been difficult from the onset of their arrival. Laelynn and Gabriel's mother Sandra, would on very rare occasions share with me some of the difficulties. On one of my visits, we leaned against the gate in the veranda of her silver home, Sandra calmly wiped a single tear that escaped her eyes. She looked up at me and smiled. “What can we do

Efua? We just have to keep trying”. In those solemn moments I imagined the burden of inequality smothering the hope of possibilities. Sandra was not employed at the time of our first meeting and in fact, in the four years of knowing her had been infrequently employed (her longest job lasting 3 months). Supporting her family of three and her husband who is terminally ill has been taxing on her emotional and physical well-being. She finds living in Blikkiesdorp very challenging and hopes that soon, the movement away from her temporary home will usher in better prospects at making life.

Embedded within the socioeconomic structures of daily living in Blikkiesdorp are the obvious “pathologies of power” (Farmer 2005), the interstices that house the foot soldiers that emerge on the frontlines in marginal spaces. This, as is so eloquently framed in Paul Farmer’s work, is the stain of affluence, the smudge on our conscience. As Farmer argues, in his book, *Pathologies of Power*, poverty and inequality are inextricably linked. His focus is on the social and economic milieu that negatively impacts vast sections of society. What Farmer calls for is vigilance in undressing the “veiled alliances” (Ibid.: 11) that exist across the restrictive borderlands that divide those with relative power and those with dwindling choices. Taking this necessary advice and applying it to the child-centred stage, it becomes ever more striking how important it is to look beyond the spy glass with naked gazes at the multiple ways in which and through which child agency operates. Whilst we can maintain that there is a marginal sense of autonomy within which children make decisions on how to lead their lives and construct meanings of their worlds, it is argued here in this thesis that the overarching narrative of violence to a certain degree becomes the pathology within which power and agency moves. With limited resources, poor access to health care facilities, barely standard-level education and diminished social power, the inequalities born out of wider sociopolitical and economic realities are indelible marks that determine to a large extent the habitus from which children operationalize agency.

Particularly useful in thinking through children’s agentic awareness is the application of a Marxist understanding of the political economy of inequality that manifests itself in their particular instance through the experience of violence. A Marxist approach, according to Bade Onimode (1985) essentially incorporates the effort to understand the historiography of economic progression, focusing on the accompanying systemic social conditions that prevail at different

stages of human development. A political economy approach “discloses the essence of material production as a social phenomenon and develops an understanding of the economic laws and historical processes” (Ibid.: 26) involved.

The work of Nancy Scheper-Hughes further brings to light the necessity in situating the discussions within a political economic frame. Scheper-Hughes (1998) in writing about social suffering in the “new South Africa” explores people’s experiences with violence and the subsequent meanings that are employed to make sense of violence and subsequent suffering. She writes against a setting of political uncertainty, transitional justice and subjective articulations of remorse and forgiveness. It is shown that making sense of suffering and violence, proposes a morally ambiguous task in a world where logic alone cannot account for the array of violent experiences lived. As Farmer indicates, “Case studies of individuals reveal suffering, they tell us what happens to one or many people; but to explain suffering, one must embed individual biography in the larger matrix of culture, history, and political economy” (Farmer, 2005: 41). The violence they experienced over the short two years that they had lived in Blikkiesdorp was a phenomenon as disturbing (if not more so) to them as it was for me to listen to. The choices available and the meanings they drew within the structure of suffering were poignant assertions into the agentic power children possess, wield and conduct. Through the countless narratives they shared of everyday violence, the children sought to make sense of, and to create a reference of meaning to the violence they experienced, etching multiple folds of identity into their journey.

Chapter 3 Identity

In anthropology, when thinking about identity, we encounter descriptions of sociocultural life, relations with oneself and with others, aspects of space and periods of time. The identities we form and flow through, in and amongst each other, construct how we sort meaning in space and events. Poststructuralist and postmodern ideas (Fox, 1999; Deleuze and Guattari, 1988) explain identity as the constant weaving of meanings in a web of interactions that cross boundaries. It involves a careful construction and negotiation of historical and economic realities, sociocultural codes and ethics, space and time, each aspect earmarking a range of differing motifs (Robertson et al., 1994). For the children in Blikkiesdorp, the notion of identity flowed amidst a host of differing ideas about difference and acceptance.

This chapter outlines how the children formulated an understanding of their environment through a series of sociocultural and economic identifications premised on difference and “othering” (Said, 1978). Within the discussion that was so aptly illustrated in my conversation with Laelynn, identity is recognised and explained as a quality of presenting and placing oneself in a social stratosphere of meaning through an overlay of subjective and embodied experiences. The children articulated their identities through selectively naming one another, and acting upon their differences amongst one another. This chapter’s reflections also bring to light how the children actively described their environment (attaching the description of violence to the area they live in) as a place oppressed by violence and poverty.

Discussing Identity

When discussing what identity meant to them, the children’s descriptions highlighted specific time-frames and place-frames that determined who they perceived themselves to be. Being associated with Blikkiesdorp translated as being associated with poverty, deprivation and uncleanliness, and they would often make jokes about their living conditions. When I first

introduced the topic of identity, I struggled to explain what exactly I wanted to talk about that day. The children grabbed at the loose descriptions I provided, answering my questions with an awkward shyness unfamiliar to us all. The vague answers I received, accompanied by prolonged silences, signalled me to discard formal discussions around the topic and instead to listen to what they shared with me in casual discussions. I was further prompted when I later began reading Kirsten Hastrup's *A Passage to Anthropology. Between experience and theory*. She says:

It is part of the performative paradox of anthropology, however to pursue a knowledge project that in an important sense transcends the lives of individuals. In any fieldwork this means keeping up a certain pressure on the 'informants' to have them say what they think. The imposed articulacy may forever alter their own awareness of the social space of which they are part. In short, we should not too hastily demand articulation; people have their own reasons for evading the words that may explicate their consciousness and thus intervene in their lives (Hastrup, 1995: 123).

Taking a more informal approach I was rewarded with an engaging discussion about identity during a trip we made to the sea. The boys had taken off their shirts and flung themselves enthusiastically onto the waters' edge. At the sight of this, Laelynn commented that she wished she could do the same. Naively, I then suggested alternatives for sea-bathing at which she laughed in a surprised way. Covering her breasts with either her arms or her hands was simply not an option. She explained that for her being bare-breasted was *geraam*, meaning "wrong". She then went on to say that perhaps it would be fine for me because I was "African". She had identified me as African and this titling had opened a world of difference in terms of what was acceptable behaviour.

We continued discussing her ideas of what an African was, and the moral imperatives that resulted in such a conceptualization of identity. Throughout it all, she maintained that she was definitely not an African, but that she was "coloured", adding her reflections to the great debate on race and coloured identity in South Africa (Adhikari, 2005, 2009; Erasmus, 2001; Davids, 2006; Absalom, 2001; Dolby, 2001). She said in a flurry of giggles, as I pried and poked, "Naai man, Efua, I just am!" Her statement invokes an embodied understanding of identity predicated upon layers of history and politics weaved so tightly together that it has become an unwavering

feature of her identity. Hence, identity as illustrated in animated ways through informal discussion with the children is something that is named and set up to locate a series of social, cultural and political actions an individual displays. Identity can then be seen as a marker of someone's lived experience, a phenomenological sense of being and embodiment, where history and politics work so effectively that this poli-historico, suffused image becomes the subjective experience of living (Friese, 2002; Ashworth and Graham, 2005; Sen, 2007; Escobar, 2008; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain, 1998).

Naming the Space

In reference to how the children named their living environment, I am reminded of a particular incident that took place once we had returned from a short camping trip away from Blikkiesdorp. Toward the end of my research with the children, I took them on a camping trip to Greyton, a small village two hours' drive from Cape Town, nestling in the foothills of the Riviersonderend Mountains, next to the Grootbos River. Once in Greyton we stayed at the Blue Hippo Tipi Village for four days, enjoying the abundant, lush nature.



Blue Hippo Tipi Village

After four intensive days, where we shared long and in-depth conversations about arising feelings and thoughts around different events in their lives, the morning of our departure back to Cape Town arrived all too soon. The bus journey back was mostly in silence as we left the grand mountains and fertile green hills behind us. When we arrived back in Blikkiesdorp, the children comically pretended that they did not live there. They described their home as if they were outsiders who were observing the overwhelming poverty around them. They said in lofty sounding British accents, “Who lives here in such poverty?! It’s so dirty here! These people are so poor!” They laughed at one another as the van came to a stop outside their tin homes, refusing to get out as they adamantly (in humour) stated that this was not where they lived; “Naai man, Efua, why did we stop here? We don’t live here. We’re not going to get out,” invoking again what Goldstein (2003) highlights as laughter out of place. They had made light of their environment on returning home; a foreboding charge remained present and unfaltering at the centre of their humour.

The laughter spilt over their words, soaking the reality of their utter dissatisfaction with their environment. They identified Blikkiesdorp as a space that they rejected and were soon to leave. It was not permanent in their configuration of home; home for them was rather located in a brick structure and not a tin shelter. Although they had not conceived of a likely time they would be leaving, they held onto the fact that living in Blikkiesdorp was a temporary measure before the means of moving to a brick home would be granted, and their dream of flight out of Blikkiesdorp would be realised. In the above exchange, they had made a distinction between the wealthy and the poor, and had tacked on associations within these distinctions. They had identified differences between socioeconomic groups and had articulated essentialist claims about belongingness – to be poor meant living in filth – and that they as affluent (Johnson in Podolefsky and Brown, 2002), British-sounding people could not “belong” in that space. They as outsiders did not belong to such poverty and filth. Symbolically, Blikkiesdorp represented a way of living from which they wished to dislocate themselves.

Naming the Difference

The temporality of Blikkiesdorp as an outpost before finding home also shaped the ways in which they identified “Other” people from the outside. Despite its two-year existence, set markers of difference were figured into place. Four of the children were South African and had been living in Blikkiesdorp for just over two years at the time of my research, and another two – one Congolese and the other Somali – had been there for just under a year. In their interactions, they had a frank awareness of the difference between each other. This difference was clearly enacted whilst practicing the theatre performance they created and staged, where Jafari was identified and understood as occupying a foreign field (Bourdieu, 1994) that was both strange and unfamiliar. In the theatre play, Jafari, who is from the Congo, played the role of “police officer”, and another of the characters, played by Sameerah, was in a love relationship with the police officer. What was striking was that, even in the practice of the imagination, cross-racial/cultural relationships – especially with “foreigners” – were unpalatable, unthinkable, and initially inactable. It was so difficult for the kids to pretend that they were going out with Jafari – because he was a foreigner.

There was no visible physicality necessary to enact the relationship, but the simple image that they as South Africans were dating a *kwerekwere* from the Congo was not permissible. The children were initially unable to bridge the social divide that their society and their community symbolically created for them. They tended to blur the performance with reality, so that even after they were finished practising they would taunt and tease each other – “Whaa! You’re going out with Jafari!” It is evident then that, although “the social and the symbolic refer to two different processes...each is necessary for the marking and maintaining of identities. Symbolic marking is how we make sense of social relations and practices; for example, regarding who is excluded and who is included. Social differentiation is how these classifications of difference are ‘lived out’ in social relations” (Woodward, 1997: 12). Initially the thought of having a love relationship with a foreigner visibly repulsed them. Fraternising with those who did not belong, those who were different, threatened their social status.

In an observation I made in Bluewaters Refugee Camp, children from Somalia and the DRC (the majority of the children inhabiting the camp) did not interact much with each other. I asked one

of the children why this was the case and she replied, “I don’t know. They are Somalian.” The similarity one can draw here between the children in Blikkiesdorp who struggled to perform a theatrical love-affair between Jafari (who is of Congolese nationality) and Sameerah (who is of South African nationality) and the child in Bluewaters Refugee Camp is that whereas the child in Bluewaters Refugee Camp was aware that she kept her interactions with Somali children to a minimum, she could not explain why. Her answer of “They are Somalian and me, I am from the Congo,” did little to explain the lack of interaction and a lot to reveal a narrative of difference and an embodied field of identity.

Speaking about foreigners and their differences, Sameerah said “Some South Africans, when the foreigners come, they want to rob them because they don’t belong here, they don’t know what’s going on.” Laelynn added, “Like, yesterday they robbed a Somali shop here, that’s why the police was here. It’s not right, because when we go to their country they will welcome us maybe, they won’t hit us and rob us.” Sameerah continued, “It’s not right because they have parents like us. They are also human beings. We must treat them equally because they also have feelings.” These differences between foreigners and people that “belong” were also echoed in a few of the conversations I had with children living in Bluewaters Refugee Camp. Some of the children I spoke to there had been out of school for a couple of years and were desperate to return. Returning was something they wished for on a daily basis but there were high costs involved.

The children from Bluewaters Refugee Camp spoke about the dangers of returning, and that it had become clear to them that they were targeted because they were “foreigners”. I asked them how it made them feel, to which they replied that it made them sad. Without any prompting or probing, they were united in their disdain at relocating to Blikkiesdorp. They said that living there was very risky for foreigners. Jonus (Marielle’s cousin) then related a story in which some fellow pupils had ambushed him, demanding money. When he claimed that he had none they said that they would “see” him after school outside. When it was the end of school, the same pupils were waiting outside for him. There was a small scuffle but Jonus and his friend managed to get away from the apparent danger. He says he was picked on because he was a foreigner. Marielle had a similar story that she then related. She had once been threatened with a broken

bottle on her way to the shop. It was made known that she was targeted because she was a foreigner as she was repeatedly addressed as *kwerekwere*.

Jonus continued talking about how “reintegration” (a word the UNHCR and Cape Town City Council used as part of the solution to the advent of the 2008 xenophobic violence) into black townships was not something he wanted. He said that blacks treated foreigners badly and it was only whites who were sympathetic to their situation. When I highlighted that I was black and sympathetic to his story he laughed shyly and added that it was black Xhosas (he had identified me as a black foreigner like him) who were a danger. The ease with which he explained and identified complex issues such as race, reintegration and xenophobia was surprising. He used these two words – reintegration and xenophobia – with mastery and intuitive understanding, whilst carefully nibbling on a zoo biscuit. When he had finished explaining to me why he did not want to go to Blikkiesdorp, and had finished eating his biscuit, he ran off to chase a nearby squirrel that had come too close to the food.

In the above observation, there is a sense that thoughts, actions and meanings are born from this named and given identity (i.e. Xhosas act in a particular kind of way). When discussing this topic further, the children living in Blikkiesdorp, although having labelled themselves as “coloured” or “black”, understandably could not then explain to me how they thought these socially given identities were formed, and how they informed them on how to act, revealing the slippery and illusive nature of constructs of identity.

Naming Violence as an Identified Feature in Blikkiesdorp

When the children shared their reflections of life in Blikkiesdorp, they always said they did not want to live there because there was a lot of violence. This was by far the most salient and frequent reflection they shared. For them, they identified Blikkiesdorp as a place replete with violence. As I understand it, Blikkiesdorp was identified as a violent place that subjected them to daily experiences within which they negotiated their emotions, actions and reactions. In social sciences, social identity or collective identities “refer to conceptions of sameness or similarity with others” (Frieze, 2002: 2). The children collectively identified themselves as living within Blikkiesdorp. They also collectively described Blikkiesdorp as a space of violence and, despite their history of frequent relocation, insisted that they wanted to leave. The impact of mobility

seemingly had not acquired an overwhelming quality, and so they never spoke about how it affected them but rather like the people who once lived on the sand banks of Bluewaters wanted relocation elsewhere. Seemingly, they did not identify with the impact of mobility in their world. They had not created meaning from the effects of mobility, but had certainly made meaning of the violence of the every day. Hence, arguably, identities are formulated and processed through the individual's negotiation of subjective experience, and what meanings those take on. It is a longitudinal reflection of one's role, choices and actions within social structures that are subjected to specific spatial and temporal referents (Frieze, 2002).

For example, on one occasion we met at a time when their previous week had been particularly violent. Drug-related gang violence presented itself in several rounds of bullets that lasted hours at a time. The children explained that they had to "sink" during the night, forcing them to find sleep on the cold, cemented floor. The violence had begun between "merchants" (drug-dealers/gangsters) from differing blocks who were fighting over drug-selling territory. When I arrived to pick them up, we greeted each other as we always did – with hugs, smiles and laughter. I had heard the night before from a friend of mine about the gang war that had broken out. Had I not received the news the night before I would never have guessed that their experience that week had been terrifying. They were their usual candid selves. It was only when we began the 30-minute drive into the city that they began to tell me about the shootings. In their retelling of the past events, they expressed the details in a manner that reflected their own fascination with the unfolding drama. Additionally, they told me about a young girl of 10 who was found hung in her tin home (Rice, 2011). One of the children shared that she had witnessed the girl pass from life into death and had heard her last whispered words, *Abu* (meaning father in Somali). They continued, "When the sun sets we have to be indoors. Anyone seen walking at night will be knifed because they think you are a drug-dealer." Not only had the kids been imprisoned internally with fear, they were also locked behind doors after 6pm.

It was with this emotional charge that we arrived at the University of Cape Town (UCT). I had chosen this place as we had no formal working space¹⁹ at the time, and it was the next best

¹⁹ Six months into the project I chose to conduct my in-depth research outside of Blikkiesdorp as the children complained they could not concentrate with so many other children hanging around the tent.

learning environment that I could think of. On reflection, our day together seemed like a perfectly situated deviation from a fear-filled week. It makes complete sense to me now how they just wanted to lie languidly in the sun, saying nothing at all. I kept probing until finally Gabriel said “Can’t we just stay here and do nothing?” Doing nothing except lying in the sun on the green grass was their way of coping, their silent way of expressing and identifying with the violence they had experienced and the subsequent powerlessness in changing/moving out of that space. They were choosing silence in this moment and for me to respect this silence at the time seemed fitting. As Hastrup (1995) writes, “Silence is packed with meaning and, in many ways, to respect it seems at odds with the anthropological task of reaching people’s self-understanding as a first step towards the theoretical comprehension of its context and premise. In the domain of human misery...the ethnographer’s probing and insistence is particularly painful. The starving may rightfully turn his back to the inquisitor; she, in turn, must realise that solidarity sometimes means silence on her part as well” (Hastrup, 1995: 123). Furthermore, Geoffrey Scarres’ edited collection of works, *Children, Parents and Politics*, considers the invisible and silenced spaces children inhabit in reference to aspects of knowledge and power, and how these spaces reflect a world of unmet needs, mutely articulated by children.

The example above of their silence about the experience of violent scenes they had witnessed, and how they identified with them, provided a powerful testimony to their deepest and most worrying thoughts. The violence of that week defined their place, and their on-going wishes to leave that space identified them as children soon to be on the move again. The study of violence has figured its course in the writing and reflections of grand theorists such as Spencer, Marx, Weber, Simmel and Durkheim. More recently, in the works of Bourdieu and Giddens, understanding the operative apparatuses present in the everyday spaces has placed the study of violence onto centre stage (Aijmer and Abbink, 2000), with anthropological theorists like David Riches (1986 and 1991) and Carolyn Nordstrom and Antonius Robben (1995) in their discussions emphasising “the constructed nature [of violence], the symbolism within which it is embedded, and also the destructive, traumatic effects” (Aijmer and Abbink, 2009: xv).

In Summary

For children living in TRAs, definitive labels like “coloured” or “foreigner” make sociocultural distinctions of difference. In our conversations, the children articulated the binding relationship between violence and identity; how they create themselves from one moment to the next is indirectly linked to how and where violence figures into the landscape. In her compelling and profoundly touching ethnography on the lives of people in a Brazilian informal settlement, the Alto do Cruzeiro, Nancy Scheper-Hughes in a sharply focussed chapter on the presence of violence in the everyday, draws attention to the role the state plays in silencing, perpetuating and amplifying violence. The “invisible” space or, as Scheper-Hughes writes, the “taken-for-granted world” (Scheper-Hughes, 1992: 220) speaks poignantly to similarities experienced/witnessed in Blikkiesdorp. The absence of state interest in the macabre daily promulgation of violence attests to this very idea of the taken-for-granted world that people move around in, discarding that which does not serve them (daily stabbings, knifings, rape, gun-shots, murders, abductions, molestations, beatings), making meaning and figuring through extreme violence. Amidst the violence identified and experienced in the everyday, the hope of stability propels the movement of finding home, reaffirming historical, political, and socioeconomic identities of difference and belonging.

Chapter 4 Displacement

Aalif and Gabriel met me at the gates. They stood their ground, clutching onto themselves as the wind spun around them. They squinted into the rising dust to see me as my car approached. “Get in, get in! How long have you been standing there waiting?” When they had hurriedly clambered into the car, they answered, “Not long. You’re here now. It was boring there waiting for you, so we decided to walk here.” We did not exchange any further words for the rest of the two-minute drive onto the silver grid of Blikkiesdorp, the soothing vocals of Snatum Kaur Khalsa lulling us into silence. We bumped our way across the rough sand road, shiny silver tin flashing at us as we drove to the empty soccer field where we usually pitched our tent.

Trying to erect our tent that day was like a scene from a comedy skit. In the past, two adults, Mr Bhajaan and Kobus had assisted us. However, on this occasion, Maxine, the children and I orchestrated the setting up of the tent. We tried to dig deep holes into the already compacted soil to secure the tent but were unsuccessful in putting it all together. The wind whipped and wrapped itself in and around the tent. We all grabbed firmly onto the poles amidst wild laughing and screaming, trying to prevent the entire wobbly structure from flying up and away. After 30 minutes of “parachuting” around the dusty soccer field, the children sought another plan.

They mentioned that there was an empty tin shelter that we could use instead of the tent. I was advised to ask permission from one of the community leaders to use the broken shelter for our classes. Once permission was granted, we moved into our new location amongst the labyrinth of other sliver homes. I had previously tried to obtain a shelter but getting hold of officials working for the Cape Town City Council was virtually impossible. When I was eventually successful, I had been told that I did not qualify for a shelter and could therefore not occupy one. There were thousands of people waiting for shelters already and my occupancy for only one day a week was not feasible. Thus, finally being granted a broken/dismantled shelter felt like a small victory.

This chapter presents a discussion about internal displacement, internally displaced people (IDPs), and the violence that accompanies being forced to move from one home to another. The discussion is then linked to how children living in temporary sites map out their surroundings, locating the discussion around Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "habitus". Additionally, a very brief view, examines the impact movement has on ideas of belonging.

The shelter to which we were granted access was a mess. People had been using it as a quasi-dumping ground for their waste. Cockroaches scuttled around amongst the waste and a pungent smell hung menacingly in one corner. We set to work straight away – our relief at finding a space to work in and our excitement at having a more formal structure fuelled our big "cleanup".



Cleaning up our work space

Somehow, paradoxically, my year working with the children was characterised by our constant moving of working spaces or "homes" (as I liked to call them), due to environmental, social and economic factors. I had wanted to create something constant and stable where I could conduct research, but ended up mimicking the life of many families caught in an endless cycle of movement. We had abandoned the idea of working in a tent because the natural environment was unpredictable for pitching tents, and when we had managed to survive wind, rain and extreme heat, other children would throw stones at the tent. Being granted a tin shelter was the alternative to relocating to town. Relocating to town meant choosing a more challenging financial predicament. When the tin shelter proved to be a very temporary set-up (people continued to use it as a dumping space) I made the decision to get two extra jobs to support our move. This

narrative is not dissimilar to the children's movements with their families. Each space we moved into provided something better; the promise of stability and of security – and ironically each move reinforced the shaky, new ground we found ourselves on. This is the field or “habitus” that the children live in. Fleeing violence and/or in hot pursuit of a “better” home meant a life of being internally displaced and permanently on the move.

Internal Displacement in South Africa

The term “internally displaced people” has only recently acquired global awareness or recognition. In the late 1980s it became more prominent on the international agenda as a result of the growing number of civil conflicts around the world that resulted in many people being internally displaced. However, a singular definition has still to be agreed upon. Questions about who should be included, its relevancy as a separate category needing aid, and what consequences arise when applying it in humanitarian interventions, are issues still widely debated. Because of the debatable definition and discussions of IDPs there is no coherent international, let alone national, response exclusively devoted to meeting the needs of people living in these uncertain conditions. What often happens is that IDPs are subject to the involvement of several actors (United Nations [UN] agencies, human rights organisations, and international and local non-governmental organisations), seeking to provide assistance. The multitude of responses without a common springboard to launch from creates a situation of confusion, mistrust and unmet needs.

The current working definition according to the UN is “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border” (United Nations, 1998). Building on this definition – a description proposed by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) – the people living in Blikkiesdorp could be categorised as IDPs as they have been forced and obliged to leave their previous residence, they live in “situations of internal tensions and disturbances...which refer to situations which fall short of armed conflict, but involve the use of force and other repressive measures by government agents to maintain or restore public order” (Training on the Protection of IDPs: 1–2). Having such a category shaped onto their experiences creates a visibility of their

lifeworlds and presents a database of meanings from which we may begin to locate and make sense of the reality Blikkiesdorp represents.

The IDP category does not carry any legal status because those that can be described as IDPs are still under the jurisdiction of their own government and may not claim any rights above and beyond what other citizens in their country have. Arguments suggest that, although IDPs share parallel realities of dislocation and diminished belonging compared with refugees (who in comparison are subject to strategic implementations of policies that seek to protect their rights), they cannot be merged into the category of refugee. Characteristic features that separate descriptions of IDPs from refugees are: the compulsion that drives their movement; their exposure and subjection to human rights abuses as a direct consequence of displacement; and the lack of state-legislated protection within the confines of their country (Norwegian University of Science and Technology - Research Group on Forced Migration). However, both refugees and IDPs can share similar realities of displacement. The majority of those displaced – refugees and IDPs alike – are poor and have all been forced to abandon habitual practices and familiar surroundings, often encountering violence and hostility along the way. In a few cases, IDPs or refugees “adopt an aggressively competitive attitude and may even be prepared to exploit other people in the same situation in order to guarantee their own security and prosperity. Displacement may throw up new and unexpected opportunities, which some are able to seize. But for the majority, displacement means not greater opportunity but greater impoverishment and insecurity” (Van Hear and Crisp, 1986: 4).

From data collected for my research, it is clear that mass removals and forced relocation programmes create an enormous amount of human suffering. “Recent experience suggests that basic human rights are inevitably violated during mass expulsions. The effects on those expelled are physically and psychologically traumatic. Expulsions occur in an atmosphere of panic, and often at a time when xenophobia, racism or ethnic rivalries have been heightened” (Ibid.: 85). The violence that accompanies forced relocation then permeates the newly assigned temporary location, as people struggle to pick up what remains from countless other homes where possessions, social networks, cultural practices and identities were dislodged from their repertoires of meaning. This is the particular kind of violence that marks movement. It is a

desperate violence that is an expression against movement, an outcry against internal displacement.

Internal displacement is an extremely complex phenomenon that is described in the literature as arising out of environmental changes, natural disasters, war and conflict. Despite the recurrence of state-led mass relocations around the world, there is little international action and/or legislation being created on the issue. Although those living in Blikkiesdorp are not formally recognised as internally displaced, the working definition of IDPs provides a framework within which to begin discussions about how best to accommodate the many people displaced by forced removals in the post-apartheid climate. Rarely does internal displacement emerge out of the state policies of a previous government, as is the case for the many families in South Africa waiting for government subsidised housing. The case of South Africa, with its history of state legislated forced removals and subsequent displacement of millions of people, created a social and economic disaster of epic proportions (Murray and O'Regan, 1990; Kester, 2000).

Nicholas Van Hear and Jeff Crisp in their book, *Refugees: dynamics of displacement. A report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues* ask, "Are governments justified in moving people by force in an attempt to resolve economic or ecological problems?" (1986: 4). The question is an interesting one to pose, especially in the case of South Africa. State-led forced removals during apartheid are widely accepted as morally and ethically dubious, causing severe social and economic dislocations. Although the political contexts of current forced removals in South Africa are infinitely different in their motivation from apartheid-led removals, the impact is not vastly different. Mr Gierdien, Sameera's father, in one of our initial conversations, related the impact forced removals of the apartheid era had on him as a child. He later drew parallels to his current reality of frequent forced removals:

Before Mitchells Plain, I came from District Six. I was born there. So all of people staying in District Six were moved. They built us houses in Retreat [a suburb in the Western Cape]. They put all the people out of Cape Town and put us in Retreat, Lavender Hill and the Flats [suburbs in the Western Cape]. They throw down all the houses there

[in District Six]. The government said they were going to use the spaces; that they needed them, and that we should go. That time we didn't move with trucks like now. You had to organise your own stuff and get out.

I was still in school. I was in primary school. I am a member of nine kids. I have four brothers and four sisters. So we had to move from there to new places. And we still have to go to school that side in District Six and travel from Retreat or Muizenberg [a suburb along the coastal stretch of the Southern Peninsula] to town to get to school. Every day. I was at Moravian Primary. We had to travel like that. That was for three years that I travelled like that, and then they built new schools in that place we were staying so we started going to school there.

I was young. I didn't understand what was happening, but as I get older we started to ask questions to our parents. And they told us what happened and things like that. Like we learnt the history from our parents. Our house could fit 14 people, the one in District Six. As we grew up, we asked questions and then went back to where we used to stay and we saw only empty grounds. It's still empty there, but they said they wanted to use the land, but they didn't build anything there. I was eight when we first moved and I was 13 when I went to look again. My parents showed us where we used to stay. It was heart breaking. It is heart breaking, because they put us in a place where violence is growing and things like that, and that was not a place for us to grow up. Our family is not involved in things like that. They didn't bring us up in violence like that. So, from there, my parents chose to move from Retreat to Mitchells Plain [a suburb in the Cape Town]. We was the first family to move into Mitchells plain. That time it was not that big. As a place grows, it develops. It starts to have drugs and things like that.

His story poignantly situates the current narratives of displacement in South Africa as part of the interwoven legacy of apartheid. The physical dislocation of home results in the separation of people from their everyday practices and familiar environments, causing social disruption and material dispossession. Drawing parallels between his current situation and his childhood experience of forced removals, he added:

You don't have a choice to move. Our people don't have a choice. They [the government] choose where they going to put you. Say they go build there in Lansdowne [a suburb in Cape Town], then they say, Blikkiesdorp must go and live there. They decide. Not us. It's not our choice. You feel bad about it. Because now you're used to the Delft area [the area where Blikkiesdorp is located], to travelling and all that things, now they put you somewhere else. Peoples feel out of place. They must adapt to a new place. The kids must change the schools. It's very difficult.

My parents were on the waiting list. The waiting list is from apartheid time. In our communities Coloured people were put on a list. If you want a house you can buy one, but we didn't make that much money to be able to do so. We can't afford to buy a house. [The government] gives you a card. You go to the housing department, you give them your card and they check there on the computer system and then tell you, 'No its not your time yet.' Some people they did get houses. But the people from the 1988 waiting list, they are only busy with them now.

I think we will be here in Blikkiesdorp maybe another three or five years now. Every time we go there they [the department of housing] give us stories...they're busy with the project, but instead they are building roads. People in Delft don't get houses, only people outside. They put us in here and now they have forgotten about us.

Mr Gierdien's reflections show how the laws that displaced millions of South Africans, and that governed apartheid ideology, were the vehicles through which the current housing backlog of post-apartheid South Africa operates. Of the many oppressive laws enforced, the *Group Areas Act, Act No 41 of 1950*, physically forced people out of their homes. The areas that black, Indian and coloured (non-white) people had been living in for generations were deemed as "white areas" and thus those categorised as "non-white" were suddenly illegal occupants of white-owned land. The *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, Act No 52 of 1951* followed the Group Areas Act and effectively allowed the Minister of Native Affairs to remove black people from "squatting" on what was now classified as public or privately owned land, and to send them to resettlement camps where these displaced people were housed. Later, the *Bantu Authorities Act*,

Act No 68 of 1951 legally established the “black homelands” and “regional authorities” (South African History Online, 2013). The geography of apartheid-created socioeconomic repercussions remain etched into the landscape of post-apartheid South Africa, resulting in millions of internally displaced people.

Since the birth of democratic government in 1994, over 2.7 million homes have been built for South Africans. As a result, approximately 13 million people have been provided with shelter (South African Government Information, 2013). In February 2010, the number of informal settlements in urban areas was found to be 700, accommodating in the region of 1.2 million households. The development of integrated sustainable human settlements initiative called Breaking New Ground (BNG) established in 2004, aims, among other things, to eradicate these informal settlements “in the shortest possible time” (Ibid). However, South Africa still faces a backlog of about 2.3 million houses, which effectively means that around 12 million of the total 50.98 million people (StatsOnline, Mid- 2013) in the country are currently without decent housing. Currently, about 200,000 housing units are built annually, a number far too small to balance the backlog. Human Settlements minister Tokyo Sexwale on the 29th September 2011 at a press conference said, “At this rate it is almost impossible to deal with the backlog, we would like to see this rate of delivery double, at least, through the participation of other South Africans who are willing to help” (Prinsloo, 2011).

Stories of Violence in Temporary Spaces

It is estimated that at the end of 2010, between 11.2 million and 13.7 million children across the world were internally displaced by armed conflict, human rights violations and general violence (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, 2011).

“In the turmoil of displacement, family and community structures are likely to break down while traditional and social norms...[disintegrate], which place displaced children at greater risk of infringements of their basic rights than other children... [They] are more readily exposed to malnutrition, illness, violence and violations of their physical integrity, psychosocial wellbeing and development... In protracted situations of displacement, internally displaced children may spend their entire childhood in camps or temporary shelters” (Training on the Protection of IDPs:

1). The importance of addressing the increasing number of contexts of internal displacement requires a different lens through which a different scope of children's needs can be addressed. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), established in 1989, provides a comprehensive compilation of the international legal standards that are geared toward the protection of human rights pertaining to children. Amongst other clauses, the convention emphasizes "the right of children and adolescents to participate in all decisions concerning their lives" (Ibid.: 3). This emphasis is crucial in developing a feasible policy through incisive listening to the multiple, often very challenging realities internally displaced children experience. Listening and responding to the needs of such populations, with an awareness of the agential role individuals have and their "capacity to process social experience and to invent new ways of coping with life, even under extreme[s]" (Norwegian University of Science and Technology - Research Group on Forced Migration: 15) is the foundation upon which to build adequate responses to displacement.

Listening to the stories children tell was crucial in gathering an understanding of life in the TRA. Their stories always pointed to the prevalence of violence in their surroundings and how this violence determined their daily choices – where they walked, with whom they spoke, etc. The description of violence as a feature of Blikkiesdorp, in so many of the conversations I had with the children, normalised its prevalence. They shared with me a vocabulary of casualness to violence that initially made me think that they were allowing the effects of the violence to wash over them like water off a duck's back. Later, I understood that the violence they experienced had found meaning in their configuration of the world. They had made loose identifications around what they witnessed and so had a repository where such scenes were stored and could begin to take on more meaning. From the plethora of violent narratives experienced they had figured violence into morally charged acts. The use of drugs, alcohol and the subsequent violence and carelessness that often follow it had taken on nuanced ethical meanings for them. In their stories they explained to me the clear moral order of their daily experience and showed where and how they made meaning of violence.



Our cleaned up temporary work space

I recall a story they shared in the shade of our recently cleaned but still broken shelter. We began with our usual sharing circle, the early morning sun promising another sweltering day. Two months had passed since our first sharing circle and each week the details shared described disturbing experiences with violence.

Efua: How was your past week?

Sameerah: It was nice until yesterday. Because they robbed the people here at the back and they hit them. They were walking with knives and stuff like that. And the police they were so rough [Sameerah clenches her right fist and punches it into the left, simulating the roughness of the police]. And almost they bump us because we were playing in the street and we were playing with the rocks and they don't even hoot, they just ride. This happened at about 5 o'clock.

Laelynn: We were very scared for that. Because, what if they get rough and then we can also get hurt? Because we were playing here in the road yesterday. We were playing skip-rope there, because here there is not a pavement you can play on.

Later that day we chose to drive into the city for the afternoon. We had a swim in the Turkish baths on Long Street and ate under the clouded blue sky in the Company's Garden. Our drive back into Blikkiesdorp was a quiet one. The children would occasionally talk about things they were seeing on the road as we drove by. As the car steered into the gates of the camp, Sameerah began reflecting on living in Blikkiesdorp:

There is a lot of violence here in this area. Especially here in Delft, because people here are drinking and they just want to fight. They want to hurt each other. And there are drug-addicts, like this lady here who wants to control the small ones, she's always a troublemaker. When she's drunk she want to come to you and she wants to hit you. Like this morning she came to Aunty Hilda, and she said, 'Yes, this lady and that lady' ...because she was looking for trouble so the [other] lady [the lady the 'troublemaker' was gossiping about] took a beer bottle and hit her on her arm. Every time she wants trouble with the people. If she is drunk then she just wants to be violent.

The car was now parked in the narrow lanes of K Block. I sensed that there was more they wanted to share and so I rolled down the window a little to allow in some air, shifted into a more comfortable position and asked, "What else happens here?" Laelynn fiddled with her jacket zip and answered:

Laelynn: Like, this lady there, she was at my mommy's house a long time ago, so she was drunk so her husband hit her. So she came and cried to my mommy, and so my mommy had to give her children food because there was no food and she was drunk.

Sameerah: And she came to my mommy, she tell my mommy, she want to cook for her children then my mommy said she had to work for our food, so my mommy can't just give to her...and anyway, if she has money then she wants to buy wine, she don't think of buying food. Now if my mommy has money then she first have to think about food. My mommy don't drink. My mommy can't just go buy wine because she must think of her children. Then my mommy tell her, 'You just want to think about wine, you don't think about your children who must first eat. So I can't just give you money.'

Laelynn: No, my mother wasn't like that. My mother used to give, give, give, my mother used to give her stuff, stuff, stuff, but afterward she began to gossip about my mommy, our house and our family, so my father said my mother mustn't give again, but my mother don't want to listen. She always give, give, give. My mother said she didn't grow up like that... She believes that she must give someone who is need. But my mommy don't want to listen because when she is in need, nobody has for her.

Aalif: It's not a good idea to have [this ideal] because, if we give them, when we need something they don't have something for us...

Sameerah: And it's not a good idea because when they had money they just want to buy wine. But, if someone else must give them money, then next time they think, 'Aaahhh, I'm going to get by her. I'm going to buy me wine.' Because if you have the money you must first sort out your children, let them first eat, then the little you can see what is left, then you can do your thing. Because my mommy can't just give. She must think about what her children can eat but she just want to think about wine. And it's wrong. It's not right.

Aalif: And every day she is looking for her baby child. She leave her baby, just so, and then the baby walk and then she is looking for the child. Yha, that child who was walking here now with the *popo* on here. It was her child, she wasn't even looking for the child. It's her child. It's her child [they reassure each other]. She leave her children in the house. Yes! [Everyone choruses]

Laelynn: One morning we were waiting for our friend by her house, next door. She is my friend's neighbour. Then she took the one child with her and the baby one she locked up in the house. And then the baby shout, "Waaa waaa". She don't care, she just go.

Faizah: The other day I see her, she got money. She comes to the shopkeeper and says her child is crying. She says she doesn't have money, but she has a lot of money and she buys cigarettes.

Laelynn: Like here by the shop, when she has money then she *sommer* [just] tell the aunty that she don't have any money. Then the aunt give the children stuff like luxuries – give bread, give milk. Like yesterday she had money because she went to go buy wine. I saw her at the back. I saw her here looking for a bottle. So she came here [and said], 'I don't have any money.' So that lady gave a packet of porridge, plus milk and sugar. So she went. But she had her wine. That's why she was controlling the children here, cuz she thought you were going to give her money. Yha! [they agree with each other]

Sameerah: Everywhere where she sees there is wine and people drinking, then she wants to go there. She wanted money by you, that's why she came to you. She thought you would give her something in her hand, so you must be clever. You mustn't give her. She's gonna break it. I would give her or buy her children but not give her the money cash in her hand. Because she will buy... And don't buy like... if you also buy lots of food then she will also sell it for alcohol. Like, there's a man, here by our church, the madrasa, because we Moslims, we call it a madrasa. Then there comes a man who gives out cabbage. Then she go fetch the cabbage and she came back. Then she went to go fetch another cabbage and came back, then she went to fetch another cabbage. Then she came to my mommy. She think my mommy don't know about the cabbage they are giving out. Then she came to my mommy and she tell my mommy, "Hi, I am selling cabbage." Then my mommy said, don't lie, they are giving it out and now you want to sell it. And one lady then came to my mommy and said, 'you know what, this lady came to me now to sell this cabbage to me.' My mommy say, 'Why you buy it, because they are giving it out for free!' And, like, if you give her cans, like sweet corn, or you give her meat, she will go and say, 'This meat I bought it for me now, but I am not going to use it. Don't you want to buy it?' Just like that. Just to buy wine. She take all her old clothes in her cupboard then she sell it for wine. She take clothes out of the drum and sell it.

Efua: Which drum?

Sameerah: Here, the bin, here. Then she uses smaller children, not even her children, then they must get in there to go look for clothes. It's wrong. Because if you get something

from someone, you must use it for what the person gave it to you for. If you have money buy something for your children to eat, don't think about wine.

Laelynn: Not yesterday, but the day before yesterday, her husband hit her with a pan on her head. And he hit her and he said, 'Every day you are drunk! You don't care about my children!' And then he left her and he walked. He don't care about her anymore. One day I saw him walking with his children to the shop then he bought his children something to eat. Chips and that...and then the lady of the shop ask him, don't you want to buy your wife something. Then he said, no, I don't care about her. She want to drink and she sell everything. I would rather buy for my children. Then he left her. He took the children out for the day. When he don't work then he clean the house, he wash the children, he look after himself, but she, she don't want to do that. She think, that 'if I smile a little like that, and a little, that then the people will feel sorry for me. And every day she come to my mommy she say she's *turning out* her house [spring-cleaning the house]. But when you go there, her house, it looks like a doghouse. You come to her house, the clothes is laying there, there is *popo*, it's her children kimbies [diapers], you go into the house, ooo there's a smell, there is clothes lying there, the bed is not yet made up, the dishes is standing just so high. We don't want to talk bad but it is wrong what she is doing. Like last week she wanted to invite you guys into her house. What would you have thought? Every day she comes to my mommy and my mommy talk to her and she says, 'It's wrong what you are doing. To do this to your children, it's wrong what you are doing.' But she don't care, she is still doing it.

This story poured out fast and with full emotion. More than the violence of knifings and gunfights was the everyday violence of alcohol-abuse described as neglect, manipulation and selfishness. The immorality they charged one of the residents as having, caused their faces to twist in disgust as this type of violence had no place for justifications. The neglect of children for selfish, drunken pursuits was for them the worst harm that one person could do. Their parents were brought into the story as the bearers of what was right and what was wrong. Their giving ways provided the relief in empathy that the children were not willing to extend. This idea of giving and gifting took on similar bearings to the "forms and functions" that Marcel Mauss (1954) speaks about. Mauss talks about a specific type of bond that takes place between the giver

and the receiver. This bond created is essentially not about the “thing” in transference, but more about a personal bond. The gift given is an extension of the person and hence, “to give something is to give a part of oneself” (Mauss, 1954: 10). It follows too, (when Aalif says “It’s not a good idea to have [this ideal] because, if we give them, when we need something they don’t have something for us...”) that when we receive a gift, or a part of someone’s essence (Laelynn says her mother was brought up to be a giver, it is part of who she is, her essence), to not return the essence later, “is dangerous, not only because it is illicit to do so, but also because it comes morally, physically and spiritually from a person [seeking always] some equivalent to take its place” (Ibid.). Aalif found that there was a gap in the circle of giving. When his family was in need, there was never anything for them despite helping other families. For him, giving without this gift being returned was not ideal, not wrong or right, but rather, “not a good idea”.

What was striking in this account shared is the translatability of the presence of violence in the everyday, and the durability of people to translate their experiences into the processes of the everyday. This translatability is richly explored in Veena Das’s *Life and Words* (2006) where she uses the extreme violence experienced during the Partition of India in 1947 and the massacre of Sikhs in 1984 after the assassination of the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, asking and indeed showing how this violence has entered and become part of the ordinary. The violence experienced is not viewed as an interruption of daily life, but rather has been inculcated into the language of the everyday. She shows how the everyday is sometimes a space in which shattering violence occurs, and also a space in which persons that have lived this violence neither resist the people or institutions promulgating violence nor present the trauma associated with witnessing violence. Violence, it is explained, takes on a language of meaning that resonates and has commonplace in and with the everyday.

The nature of violence in Blikkiesdorp is very particular to this site. Its particularity is realised in reflection of its temporality. The amount of varied types of violence present in a community that is only two years old, and characteristically temporary, is key to this thesis. Blikkiesdorp, having been created in 2008 in response to an increase in forced removals and evictions around the Western Cape, is what Aunty Martha has called “cursed”. Despite its newness and its temporary nature, there are women struggling with alcohol addiction who are subject to physical abuse, there are toddlers tottering around neglected and hungry, game-shops where molestations and

teenage prostitution occurs daily, “whore-houses” that provide women with an income to feed families, and a tightly held drug economy in operation. The uncertainty of whether housing will be provided and the ambiguity of how long people will remain in Blikkiesdorp produces a world of explicit violence and unsafeness. The children clearly mapped out these sites, indicating for them what they perceived as “not right” in Blikkiesdorp. The temporariness and the desperation for survival in a temporality that has lasted four years has somehow opened spaces that produce pockets of intense violence.

In a chapter written by Anthony Mehlwana in Glanz and Spiegel’s book (1996), it is shown that the consequences of continued forced removals impact enormously on the production of violence. He says, “Individuals’ lives and family relationships are shattered and people’s very efforts to construct a sense of domestic continuity and stability are disrupted through their being forced into repeated residential moves” (Ibid.: 4). Here we can see that the constant movement of families into different spaces orchestrates the frequency and volume of violence in a particular community. Mehlwana goes on to say, “Chances for stability and permanence to root [oneself], even as ideals to be striven towards, are constantly eroded. Given such circumstances, and despite the resilience – even innovativeness – of some individuals, we must ask whether it is possible to (re)create and sustain a culture of stable and caring family life so that young and old alike can be nurtured to become mature responsible citizens. Or do experienced precedents of violence and disruption merely reproduce themselves as cultural norms?” (Ibid.). Therefore, where one finds communities of people who have been internally displaced for generations, the argument stands that violence in its full assault will be experienced.

Also in Glanz and Spiegel’s book (1996), writing on the political, social and spatial determinants of violence in Phola Park, Gauteng, McKendrick and Senomad explain that, in sites of violence, children’s sense of security and safety was offset by displacement, and that the looming possibility of always being harmed was a feature of the everyday. This imminent violence thus affected their psycho-social wellbeing (Ibid.: 23). The children’s interaction with violence that I have observed resonates with similar findings in Phola Park: “Children were born and reared, and have matured, married and died in violent situations. Some children have become so immune to violent actions that they see violence as both an acceptable way of expression, and as a way of channelling their emotions” (Ibid.: 38).

The violence Glanz and Spiegel describe is a particular type that has permeated South Africa's "social and cultural life" (Ibid.: 1), sourcing its roots in both colonial and apartheid legislature and practice. The diversity of the root causes makes violence in contemporary South African communities a quagmire of residual and historic trauma. What is apparent is that the relationship between lived violence in the everyday is extremely complex and simultaneously unsettling for families in terms of intradomestic (familial violence) and extradomestic (wider, public violence) relations. What is posited in this collection of works is the interwoven relationship between private and public worlds; where intradomestic violence is described as "the cradle of violence" (Ibid.: 3). Contrary to this argument, the descriptions of violence provided by the children, is located in the field outside the home – the extradomestic field. Rather, for them, the family home was the "safest" place to be.

Mapping out the Violence in Relation to Space

More than the violent stories they shared candidly, the unbroken reality of experienced violence is also housed in carefully navigated spaces of safety and danger. The stories that they tell, their interactions with one another and their language reflect a lived knowledge of violence. In exploring how the children configured violence in relation to space, they created maps of Blikkiesdorp, indicating the areas that for them were violent and hence unsafe. They showed where the safe and unsafe places are in their area, carefully recording the geography of their movements and how they spatially make sense of violence in their environment. Through this map-making exercise, I sought to understand how children configured their surrounding space. In their explanations of what they had drawn on the map, they revealed a carefully constructed picture that indicated how they mapped out social interactions amongst one another and, by extension, amongst racial, political and economic groupings. Additional to the map-making project, they were also given disposable cameras with which to make visual commentary of their lives. Looking at how they framed and described each of the pictures allowed me to fill in the maps they had created about their neighbourhood. The pictures taken were of family and friends, and this reflects the immediate and influential role familial and convivial relationships play in their lives. None of the children took landscape photographs; all took pictures of their families and friends, reflecting that for them these relationships are most important to them because it is

where they feel most safe. Everything that operated outside the home was subject to the unfettered occurrence of extreme forms of violence.

I use Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" as an entry point to explore these ideas of space and identity as expressed by the children. In Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby's edited collection of works on space, place and identity (2005), Bourdieu asks, "Could we use this concept to understand and explain situations of rapid change and to account for social transformation and for the tremendous changes we observe in contemporary societies, including at the level of daily life?" (Bourdieu in Hillier and Rooksby, 2005: 43). Presumably yes, if habitus is used to describe a sense of one's place where place becomes a changeable, fluid site to which we ascribe meanings and adjoin contextual explanations for the existence and non-existence of one's place. In this way habitus, used as a concept to understand spaces of temporality, requires a reflection on space as purely constructed, carefully impregnated with meaning and deceptively able to shape-shift into new territories. It is a concept, as explained by Bourdieu, "very similar to what was traditionally called character, but with a very important difference: the habitus, as the Latin indicates, is something *non natural*, a set of *acquired* characteristics which are the product of social conditions and which, for that reason, may be totally or partially common to people who have been the product of similar social conditions" (Ibid.: 45). In this way, it is constructed.

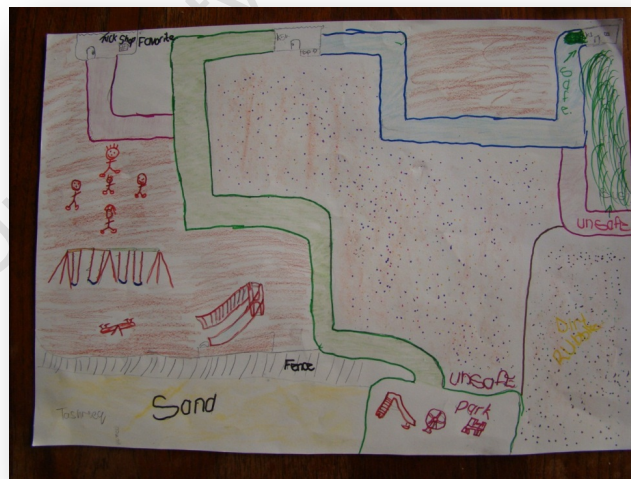
The construction of space is important in that it brings to light the process of infusing habit into spaces, thus transforming them into geographies of meaning. Michel de Certeau, in his development of a theory of territories of individualised translations through ritual and meaning-making, shares how spaces are places awakened through habit and narrative. Moving and speaking through space becomes essential in creating an understanding of how people make sense of place (Certeau, 1984). This idea of constant motion is essential in understanding Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Habitus should not be considered as separate and complete in its explanation of place, space and identity. Habitus, used here, marks the field within which children living in temporary camps figure meaning. In Blikkiesdorp, the children's descriptions of violence in relation to safe and unsafe places mapped out their habitus or field of meaning. Their learned experience of what, who and where was safe within Blikkiesdorp – their habitus – was visibly described in the map-making exercise. Not only did they reflect a raw familiarity with abuse and violence, their accompanying stories as discussed previously produced what

Bourdieu concisely explains as the “schemata...of perception, conception and action” (Bourdieu in Hillier and Rooksby, 2005: 43).

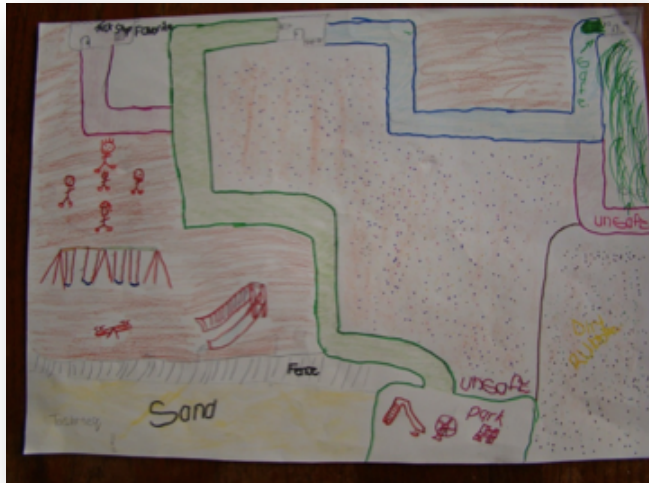
The children’s spatial movement, and how they “walked” through their space (de Certeau, 1984), is carefully articulated between what they perceive as violent and what they understand as safe. Their habitus is informed by the prevalence and nature of violence and, in this mapping exercise, they showed carefully plotted pathways of safety that took them from their houses, to the shops, to their friends’ houses, to the soccer field and back home. Their daily routine of movement avoided the unsafe places like the game shop and “whore house” where they “never walk alone”.

Laelynn says:

My safe place for me in my neighbourhood is my house because it is safe and my parents are there to watch over me and my friends. My other safe place is my friend Sameerah’s house, Fousiah’s house and my aunt’s house which is next to mine. The unsafe place is the shebeen, the game shop, the whore-house and the park because there is children getting hurt and so on in these places. My favourite place is the soccer field because I like watching the children playing soccer there. I never go to places that are unsafe



Laelynn’s map



Aalif's map

One of the areas Laelynn talks about as being unsafe is the park area that is visible on entering the large barren football-pitch located in the centre of Blikkiesdorp. Aalif, as shown in the adjacent picture, also indicates the park as an unsafe place. In fact, in each of the maps drawn by the children, the play park was demarcated as an unsafe place to be in. In early 2011

workers were seen putting up a seesaw, slide and some swings. The poles were brightly coloured and even before it was finished a large crowd of children had begun clambering over the incomplete structures. The play area had been constructed over the hard, gritty sand, creating a space for future broken bones, scratches, bruises, aches and pains. Furthermore, this area was also where the huge industrial bin was kept. The community regularly deposited and burned their waste here. No attempt was made to remove the bin and it ominously figured as part of the play area. On some days, the contents in the bin were lit, turning child's play into a game of Russian roulette.

The high turn-out of children diminished over the weeks, and within two weeks of being built, the entire playground had been stripped of its chains and rubber. I began asking the community what their thoughts were on the latest addition to Blikkiesdorp. Everyone that I spoke to said that it was in bad taste. Aunty Martha said that it was a “danger for the kids”. She went on to say that



The bin in the playground area

there was already a lot of diarrhoea and stomach illnesses and that putting the play area so close to the bin was terrible and meant more visits to the hospital. In her opinion, instead of constructing a play area, they ought to have put down a bit of lawn for the kids to play on. Others had similar thoughts about the location and all had no idea who was behind its construction.



Faizah's map

In the map above, Faizah includes larger social institutions (hospital, police-officers and school) in her map. The “ticks” indicate the safe places and the cross indicates the unsafe place. She says, “The bush is not a safe place, because a lot of bad things is happening to children there.” For her, her house, the hospital, the police station, and her school are the safe places. Movement around Blikkiesdorp was similar to the other children in that she walked along “safe places” to get to her friends’ houses. She did not indicate her friends’ houses as safe places because her particular narrative of friendship and conviviality differs starkly to that of the other children. Her exclusion of this space as safe tells yet another underlying story of her individual experience of living in Blikkiesdorp – her habitus of reference. It shows that for her, the friendships she keeps are, at best, networks she employs to get by from day to day, yet the level of trust and safety sought in convivial interactions is not apparent to her.

Belonging Somewhere Safe

Her experience of being a Somali refugee in Blikkiesdorp is undeniably part of her habitus and describes a differing set of schemata along which that habitus is constructed. On many occasions, we had discussions about “othering,” difference and belonging. In one story related to me the children said “These children here now said that Faizah is Somalian and she doesn’t belong here. And they say she is a bushman. It’s not right because they treat her like as if she doesn’t belong here. These girls here is very rude.” I asked Faizah how she felt about it and she shook her head and smiled. Aalif then said:

If it was me, I’ll *sommer* [just] kill them. If someone makes me cross, I will kill them. Faizah is sitting there like nothing is happening, but inside she can feel it. It’s not right. Sometimes, Faizah says she is ok but we can see in her face... but she is always laughing and always smiling. When somebody talk rude... it’s not right.

For Faizah, not to “belong” somewhere created a sense of uprootedness, a sense of being deterritorialised (Leach in Hillier and Rooksby, 2005: 302). She was in essence an involuntary nomad of the post-modern description, at odds with the structures that she sought to gain territory within (Fox, 1999). Faizah would often pull me aside to tell me how she was soon going to go to America. The idea that some other land existed where she would belong remained with her, a talisman of her habitus where the daily experience of xenophobia, racism and violence were ever-present.

Thomas, a young refugee from the DRC who was 16 year old at the time of our meeting in Bluewaters Refugee Camp, explains further the idea of the violence born out of difference and not belonging in South Africa. He now lives in Blikkiesdorp where he too longs for flight out of violence and into a place of safety. I met him the day before the mass eviction in Bluewaters happened. We were talking about the events that would follow, and he was remarking how for him life was getting worse and worse. I asked him why, and he replied that tomorrow everyone was being evicted to Delft. He said, “I don’t like it but I don’t have a choice...” Our conversation continued:

Efua: If the choice were up to you where would you go?

Thomas: Out of South Africa.

Efua: Where would you go out of South Africa?

Thomas: Anywhere that I feel like....

Efua: Where is anywhere?

Thomas: Anywhere that I find that is safe. A safe place. When I came into South Africa, I thought it was much safer [compared to the Democratic Republic of Congo], but it's not safe...

Efua: Why do you not feel safe here?

Thomas: Almost I lost my life twice...

Efua: What do you mean?

Thomas: My own friends tried to take my life.

Efua: Your own friends? Can you tell me what happened?

Thomas: I thought it was a joke. The first time it was like this boys just came at school, [saying] 'hi *kwere*' [a derogatory term used to describe a 'black foreigner']. I was quiet myself. I was keeping myself quiet because something wasn't right. I was scared. They took a knife out, put it to my throat and asked me for money. I told them that I had none but they wouldn't believe me. So we fought. We were fighting hard and I did get away but unfortunately, they cut me in my arm. [He pulls back his jacket sleeve to reveal a deep scar where the knife penetrated.]

Efua: That happened in school?

Thomas: Yah....I was scared to go even to the teacher. In my mind, I thought if I report them [the teachers are] going to take him, they going to hit him, and then after that he is going to come back and kill me. So, I leave it.

Having since moved to Blikkiesdorp, Thomas has experienced further discrimination, violence and xenophobia. He does not feel like he belongs in South Africa.

In Summary

I have used the expression “internally displaced people” to describe the millions of inhabitants of South Africa that remain waiting for the long-promised government-subsidised housing.

Although the category of IDPs has yet to find solid footing in global state legislature, I have found it useful in examining the realities of past and current, frequent forced removals in South Africa. Furthermore, those housed in TRAs include refugees, asylum seekers and black African foreigners. These dislocated trekkers navigate through a coarse terrain that is often replete with violence and instability. None know how long Blikkiesdorp will be around. In an informal conversation I had with a friend who works closely with the Anti-Eviction Campaign, I was told that the city council had rented the section of land that Blikkiesdorp was built on. He told me that this lease would expire in 2014. Anti-Eviction Campaign leader Ashraf Cassiem says, “We don't know of any legal process, but from the start we rejected a temporary residential area. In [such] areas parents can't raise their children. [These areas] are unhealthy, unsafe and undignified. We are not of the impression that if people move to temporary residential areas they will get homes soon. At the Tsunami temporary residential area, people have been there for seven years and at Happy Valley, for 12 years. They were supposed to be temporary places, but seven and 12 years are in no way temporary” (Hartley, 2008).

The stories shared in this chapter reflect the repercussion of apartheid's divisive laws. Both adults and children revealed the challenges of surviving in spaces of violence and temporariness. For those whose careful negotiations of safety extended further, touching on issues of difference and xenophobia, it is clear that expressions of displacement and a sense of not fitting in somewhere often accompany each other. For them, it becomes increasingly challenging to fit into garments of belonging and acceptance in realities that are subject to frequent forced mobility, where the social fabric has snagged. What remains is the uncertainty of what lies ahead and the certainty that movement is imminent. The habitus or “system of dispositions” (Bourdieu in Hillier and Rooksby, 2005: 43) within which the children carefully mapped how to walk their surroundings, located their keen awareness of where violence was and also how they assigned a clear moral order of the type of violence present in temporary relocation camps. More movement becomes either a blessing or a sombre boon, where “the legacy of... violence remains. The scars

are deep and etched into the gutted and destroyed landscapes left by the apartheid state” (Scheper-Hughes, 1998: 118) and so, in every move that is made, they take with them their albatross of lived violence, a reminder of what came before them and indeed what lies ahead.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 5 Body Talk

In both of the temporary relocation sites of Bluewaters Refugee Camp and Blikkiesdorp, the earth was barren, dry, windswept and rough. In Bluewaters, people moved in and amongst rising wind-swirls, trying to escape the heat and rain in makeshift shelters. In Blikkiesdorp, the compacted hardened earth lay as a physical metaphor of the gritty experiences of life on the margins. This chapter explores how descriptions of the children's reality reflect an embodied experience of their environment. In many of their shared reflections, their environment was central to the meanings they constructed and attached on reflection of their life experience. In gathering data, I drew on expressions of the body where the body was used to describe a compilation of subjective observations and actions that resulted in an understanding of one's sense of health in relation to the environment.²⁰ An exploration of the children's perception of health blossomed in colourful creative works through their self-portraits, diaries and body maps. This enabled me to further explore how they configured a sense of health, space and place in a TRA.

Children's body maps serve as an entry point to illustrate the merging of bodily experiences to the children's sense of health. The discussion later turns to pathways that reveal the impact which harsh weather conditions have on experiences of health in and on the body. It is here where the embodied environment comes into sharp focus. Through our explorations of the body, the children's reflections showed the impact the external environment had on their life experience. What was always emphasised in their descriptions of illness and health felt in the body, was their situating of home within a life of changing landscapes. Their temporary shelters and surrounds were their entry and departure points for expressing and explaining health directly experienced through the body. Conditions of their home and surrounds impacted tremendously

²⁰ Health is used here to describe the complex whole that contributes to a general feeling of wellness.

on their reflections about their lifeworlds. Respiratory ailments and skin maladies (like asthma and eczema) that Aalif endured are characteristic of illnesses exacerbated, according to the World Health Organisation (WHO), by poor housing quality. Such an observation is made particularly in the context of Blikkiesdorp where socioeconomic conditions inform one on the uneven distribution of treatment for illness and the tendency to build poorly designed housing. The discussion closes on this node, leaving the possibility for further exploration into what constitutes a healthy home through a careful thinking-through of the embodied environment.

As a means to locate and embed stories shared within a wider library of embodied knowledge, this chapter traces and weaves through anthropological descriptions of the body in history. Central to this thesis is an understanding that the body interpenetrates and interacts with the environment in ways that create multiple meanings within changing landscapes. “Seen as contingent formations of space, time, and materiality, lived bodies have begun to be comprehended as assemblages of practices, discourses, images, institutional arrangements, and specific places and projects” (Lock and Farquhar, 2007: 1). In this conceptualisation of the embodied environment, the human being is regarded as inseparable from the physical presentation of *the experience* that exists in a complex field of interaction. Aalif shares his experience reflecting this dimension of embodiment:

My week. This week was very cool because me and my friends play so many games, make jokes. We took a long walk on Thursday right around the camp. On Wednesday a man stole a phone of another man, and the man beated him and that man said he wanted to kill him.

Aalif’s reflections point toward several stories about the knowledge he filters in, as a means to figure and construct his experience of living in a camp enclosure. A further example of this sense of embodiment is echoed in the work done by Thomas Csordas (1990) where the idea of embodiment is introduced as a paradigm for anthropology. My understanding of his version of embodied subjects was largely influenced by the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Pierre Bourdieu and signalled a move away from understanding the body as a subject on which things happen, to a focus on the essentiality of “being in the world” a concept explored in the early

twentieth century by Martin Heidegger (Heidegger, 2010). This notion of “being in the world” speaks clearly through the work of Cecilia McCallum’s ethnography of Cashinahua (Huni Kuin) people from Brazil and the Peruvian Amazonia. She describes the body as continuously produced by others and grown through the senses. Through material, linguistic and spiritual processes, life gives service to “a body that knows” (McCallum, 1996: 347), where a healthy body is the accumulative spectrum of living and learning/learned senses. Health is seen as an on-going process so, a healthy body is one that is “constantly learning through senses [that] the accumulated knowledge in social action and speech” (Ibid).

Gabriel reflects his learning of his body and that of others in part of his reflective writing:

My week was so nice. I ended my exams on Tuesday. New people came to our school to teach us about HIV/AIDS and soccer. They come every day. I really like to be with them because then I know how to handle HIV/AIDS when I’m big.

The epistemic basis of bodily knowledge is represented as living knowledge where the bodies are “grown” through knowledge; knowledge shared through various socialisation avenues/processes from material things to spirituality and language. These processes are weighted with ideas of gender roles, kinship ties and morality. It is also understood that the body is continually being fabricated out of the environment both materially and socially. To this end, Aalif says:

Here in Blikkiesdorp people live very difficult [lives] because here is different religions. Here is no roads. Here is no gravel roads. Here in this place, you get nothing that you need. Some Fridays or even during the week they drink alcohol then if they drunk they begin to fight and swear. When it is hot, people cannot take the hotness, and some people get sick from the hotness.

This reveals the close link between body, mental and emotional growth that establishes the epistemology of life on the margins and further points to the infrastructural challenges brought on by an over-burdened socioeconomic system. This type of epistemology is based on the knowledge accrued through a series of tangible and intangible inscriptions lived during the

course of one's life as the body "comes into controlled contact with aspects of the environment in their material, verbal, and sometimes spiritual forms" (McCallum, 1996: 348). What is apparent is the meeting of the material with the symbolic or social self, which speaks to the idea that the body is not only "the biological bearer" of social symbolism but is rather the locus of the construction of sociality (Ibid). In Cashinahua bodily epistemology, similarly to some of the stories the children living in Blikkiesdorp shared, the body is bound to the lived experience. The epistemic referent to the body is crucial in reflecting upon how meaning is made and indeed how the world is given life through body knowledge.

University of Cape Town

Body Mapping

The body mapping exercise resulted in a colourful expression of the types of illnesses they had experienced in their bodies and how these felt. I asked them to visually describe where they experienced illness, discomfort and disease, mapping all these experiences onto one large two meters-wide body template.



Laelynn tentatively picked up a chalk piece and shaded in a large area on the outlined body we drew. She had broken her arm in 2007 and on the body map that lay before her, she filled in parts of the left arm that she remembered as being bandaged up. She said that when it got cold, she could feel her arm hurting. To remedy this, her mother gave her a “pain tab and rub[bed] a white



cream found in a green container on [her] arm” (Panado and Menthol Camphor cream). Laelynn said, “You can rub it on for anything – colds and flus – and you can use it as a pain reliever”. She also regularly had stomach pains, which she described as “sharp, like a needle in your skin” that she remedied by drinking “a mixture of vinegar and sunflower oil” which alleviated the pain. Aalif, who said that walking around a lot caused him pain, circled the knees. Rubbing wintergreen (a type of herbal remedy you can obtain at the pharmacy)²¹ ointment that smells “like bubble-gum” or “mixing some zinc with a bit of Grandpa”²² eased the pain. They had all experienced influenza, which they agreed should be indicated as a shaded part on the head of their body map. With slow and deliberate movements, Faizah started adding dots all over the chalk body, softly speaking of her experience of chicken pox. She said her whole body itched and she had spots all over her body. She said she spent one week at home getting well again. The rest of the children remember having chicken pox too. Sameerah remembered having a fever and feeling sad. “You can’t touch anyone because it can spread quick.” Both her parents and doctor

²¹ Oil of Wintergreen or methyl salicylate, is the active compound which is similar to aspirin (acetylsalicylic acid) and, when digested, produces the same pain relieving results.

²² Grandpa headache tablets and powders have analgesic, antipyretic and anti-inflammatory properties. They are used to provide symptomatic relief of fever and mild to moderate pain such as headaches, toothache, colds and flu.

had informed her about the highly contagious nature of chicken pox. She said, “You must go to the doctor when you have it and he gives you Calamine lotion²³ to put on.” Illustrating illness onto the body afforded conversations that reflected the careful considerations of how illness felt in the body. This awareness of feeling the health and/or illness of the body echoes past, popular anthropological discussions about the body that began with anthropometry and craniometry – a “good means of characterising varieties of man” (Boas, 1899: 448). Implicit in these early formulations was an understanding of the body explained in scientific and biological terms. This foothold, developed in the mid 18th century, debated three primary issues pertaining to the human body in evolutionary sciences. One was the monogenetic versus polygenetic origin of homo-sapiens, the second was the link and relations between humans and apes (the topic of humanity and its meanings) and the third concerned itself with the interactions and relations of the varieties of humans (the issue of race as it would later be defined and talked about). Each of these debates was broadly reviewed in physical terms and was scientifically positioned. To contextualise this type of focus, it is important to bear in mind that René Descartes’s mind-body dualism²⁴ had previously been developed and that this mechanism was “the dominant philosophy of the science of the period” (Synnott and Howes, 1992: 148). The mind was something “other”,

²³ Calamine lotion is either a mixture of zinc oxide and ferric oxide or is sold as a zinc carbonate compound. It is used as an anti-pruritic (anti-itching) agent to treat conditions such as sunburn, eczema, rash, poison ivy, poison oak, chicken pox, insect bites and stings. It is also sometimes used as a mild antiseptic to prevent infections brought on by scratching the affected area, and as an astringent to dry weeping or oozing blisters and acne eruptions.

²⁴ The 1980s examinations of both bodily and lived experience marked a shift away from understandings or explanations of life experience as a product of the mentalistic mind-body dualism. Previous studies, through ethnographic accounts of non-western people leaned precariously on assumptions and deductions that the corporeal subject was predominant and that non-western people were entirely body-centred and lacked an orientation that distinguishes mind from body (Halliburton, 2002: 1123). Murphy Halliburton, in the article, *Rethinking Anthropological Studies of the Body: Manas and Bodham in Kerala*, contests the tendency to separate the mind from the body through a phenomenological presentation of psychotic people who have been “spirit-possessed” in Kerala, South India. It is argued that in this area of India and amongst those that experience “mental” illnesses, clear distinctions between body, mind, consciousness and other states of being are commonplace (Halliburton, 2002: 1123). The argument is framed through an analysis of Indian philosophy of wellness, health and illness where ideas of existence are present on the Cartesian continuum, moving the body to the less tangible parts of the person. Halliburton calls for local phenomenologies, in contrast to the hegemonic phenomenology, which asserts that a move away from a western-based epistemology of the body is necessary. He uses Kerala as a case study where he shows that there is a constellation of phenomenological expressions of the mind-body-consciousness continuum. What he does is step away from the usual type of ethnography that places emphasis on experiences along a mind-body dualism and, instead, shows that people in Kerala, whilst being mindful/aware of the mind and body, also places experiences of illness within the less tangible, less corporeal realms. What he ultimately argues for is a

picked and stitched routinely by those interested in the metaphysical realms of existence. Conversely, the body was portioned out to science for further inquiry. The body, it was hoped, offered valuable clues for understanding homo-sapiens (Ibid). The epistemic grounding prevalent during these years sought to understand the human being and her world in strict and narrow biological terms, a far cry from how the children interpolated the interactions of their bodies, social forces and their senses. Regardless of the exclusivity of knowing the body in purely biological ways, these early formulations highlighted the importance of the body and catalysed future debates.

Although theorising the body through science and biology tended to justify and “legitimate racial, gender and colonial hierarchy” (Ibid), stimulating the eugenics practices of the early 20th century (Lock and Farquhar, 2007: 5), the underlying awareness of the sentient, corporeal subject forged future “techniques” and “ways” of thinking through the body that resurface (as shown in the stories shared by the children about how illness is felt in their bodies), time and again. During the late 1800s craniology exerted great political influence that sought to justify or, rather, successfully justified conquest and imperialism, and the inequalities of both race and gender. The body became not only physical but also political. By the end of the 19th century the physical body had been mapped, classified, and measured in attempts to understand differences and justify political and economic expansion and inequality. It was felt that the physical body had been sufficiently understood, and so anthropologists turned to measuring the senses and later to an exploration of rituals and rites (i.e. social functions of the body in society). Leading this transition was Franz Boas (1937) who was decidedly not convinced by the science of biological determinism, and was therefore a pioneer in cultural anthropology. He created an awareness of the role sociality, geography and culturality play on modes of thinking and acting (Synnott and Howes, 1992).

In relation to the above body-mapping stories the children shared, we see that the body houses both the direct interplay of the external extremities on old illnesses and the indirect interaction with the social world. When it is cold, broken bones relive the memory of pain in the body and

localised phenomenological approach to ethnographic accounts of the body based on the local epistemology (Halliburton, 2002).

when you're ill with a contagious disease, "you can't touch anyone" for fear of spreading your illness. Being quarantined from friends makes the experience of illness all the more saddening and interruptive of social relating. This social experience of illness reflected by the children earmarks the inclusion of the sociological aspects of the body. Boas's (1937) challenge to biological determinism in the early 20th century gave way to new ideas brought forth by Margaret Mead (1928), Ruth Benedict (1934), Marcel Mauss (1934), and Mary Douglas (1966), who were more curious about the nexus between socialisation and culture, going beyond the "body proper" (Lock and Farquhar, 2007). Mauss was the first to attribute a systematic anthropology of the body. He explored how people in differing cultures and subcultures learn "techniques" of the body and also noted and acknowledged how these techniques changed over time. By "techniques" he meant to describe the knowledge people have of how to use their bodies given the environment they are in. In this way, the body is understood as an instrument that is learned within differing social and cultural contexts, echoing McCallum's (1996) ethnographic observations. The "technique" of each society or culture would give rise to context specific epistemologies, and thus Mauss argued for a triple view point to understand the totality of man: psychology, physiology and sociology. In this way, people could be better understood through an observation or in reference to their "techniques" that considered gender, culture and age. The incorporation of "techniques" or "ways"²⁵ of the body explained the body as a social entity, revealing how "embodied individuals are thoroughly social" (Lock and Farquhar, 2007: 5). This social and moralistic extraction of the body as an entry point of lived experience, where the body was seen as "the first and most natural tool of man" (Ibid) opened onto a particular construction of the "natural individual" (Ibid) as a subject for further sociological analysis.

²⁵ Particular to Mead and Wolfenstein (1955) was the contrast made between mechanistic western concepts of the body and the holistic concept other cultures seemed to have and that in understanding ways of life, cultural contexting is imperative. Mead showed that "the ways" of the body differed between and across continents (United States and the South Seas), while Benedict (1934) highlighted the idea that cultures pursue different concourses in life and that differences are because a people's collective trajectory is so positioned as to bring about their own reflection of reality.

Also viewing the body in more socially embedded ways were Robert Hertz and Arnold Van Gennep who explored the ritual processes present in life experience. Much like Aalif's *Raatif* celebratory event marking his transition from childhood into adolescence, these scholars accounted for the body beyond the deontological readings of the body and moved to incorporate the process of rituals and decorations on the body. Hertz's discussions that explained the body as a tableau on which the polarity and diversity of the universe were inscribed speak clearly to the *rite de passage* that Aalif went through. Using his findings from his studies on Maori, Hindu and Celtic death and funeral rituals, Van Gennep pressed on further, asserting that the social also influences the physical. Tacked onto the body was a social design where the individual and society embodied each other, drawing his findings from. Changes in the social fabric were marked on the physical body (through ingestion of food, piercings, changes in hair, body painting etc.). He explained that the person is made "new" through a set of lively inscriptions (Synnott and Howes, 1992; Counihan, 1999). Through a series of precise incisions onto the skin using a sharp sword, Aalif showed his tremendous strength of faith as a young Muslim boy. Proudly commenting on her son's ceremonial display, his mother said, "The stronger your faith, then no harm will come to you. He didn't bleed or anything." The days leading up to the event were particularly important for Aalif as he prepared to demonstrate his faith. He would show me different parts of an elaborate dance he would perform and show me exactly where he would later pierce and cut himself.



Preparations and Prayer before ritual

The Embodied Environment

In looking at the environment, and specifically at TRAs and their impact on the body in relation to health and illness, descriptions relating to a range of socioeconomic realities and both the physical and social activities of human beings inhabiting a particular space and time are revealed. Phenomenological inflections, where the body is described as producing “itself in space at the same time as it produces that space...constitute a practico-sensory realm in which space is perceived through” the senses (Simonsen, 2005: 4). In this way, the body is both biomorphic and anthropological (Lefebvre, 1991: 229); both physical and an experience of embodiment. Hence, when the children speak of their bodies, their internal and external environments weave themselves into their lived experience. For instance, on reflecting about a day at school, Jafari said, “I’m getting burnt by the sun, because they make us stand a lot outside. They leave us outside while they go in for meetings. I don’t like sunburns because it damages my face and eats my skin off. It made another boy’s face dirty; his skin was falling off.” Their descriptions often infused an embodied experience of their surroundings. Another example was related to me by Aalif – a day spent walking to and from school, to shops and public transport (activities that Aalif does to save on transportation costs), placed pressure on his knee joints resulting in severe pains. The children also incorporated conceptions about the quality of life as exemplified by Jafari, Marielle and her mother Beauty. Jafari said, “When I have the flu, I can’t feel my whole body. I feel tired and I feel like to vomit. In my chest I am coughing a lot and my nose can’t smell. I can’t taste food...it’s bad, very bad”. For Marielle (14 years old) and her mother Beauty Kwapenda, their bodily discomfort of living circumstances in Bluewaters Refugee camp communicated the struggle to stay in health:

Marielle: Cooking with the wood...Oh! Our eyes...

Beauty: The problem is the wood. [She shows me a pink gash on her cheek]. Now I sick every day. The fever is coming. Today I am fine, tomorrow is different. There is no food for the kids. You wake up, the baby has no nappies, no porridge. If you sleeping you wake up because you feel cold. The wind if it is coming, the plate is full of sand. The conditions for this place is not good. Now for Delft (Blikkiesdorp)? I don’t know if I go there if the trouble will still be there.

Marielle: It is hard to live like this.

On our long walks along the coastal stretch where the camp was located, Marielle would tell me how her stomach often ached because it was “empty” and how she would wake up with “something coming out of [her] ears.” She explained that, before arriving at the camp, she had less pain in her body. From the stories shared, the interaction of the body and the environment created a reference of meaning from which their daily experience could be understood. They made meaning through this lens of the embodied environment.

Comparatively, Blikkiesdorp was less “raw” (Ross, 2010) than Bluewaters Refugee Camp, in that each shelter had access to running water and electricity and therefore, the challenges of cooking on open fires was significantly if not completely reduced. Marielle’s hunger pains however, were not an uncommon experience compared to the children in Blikkiesdorp. For Faizah, our meetings every Saturday meant that she could have an extra meal in the day in addition to her usual eating routine. She said, “Today I am feeling kind of happy because Efua and Maxy is coming along at 10 o’clock. I feel happy because I know they will bring us something to eat.” We would often talk about food, covering topics like access to food, how often and what kinds of foods they ate, what effects food or the lack thereof had on their moods and bodies, and also what links we could make between food and health or illness. Sameerah reflected, “I...like eating all day long” and her mother added that she was always thinking about food: “When the food is just so finished on her plate she is asking about the next time we are going to eat.” Food is essential; it is “a many splendored thing, central to biological and social life” (Counihan, 1999: 6). Apart from the immediate relief food gives to a hungry body, the subsequent sensations informed them as to their quality of health. Using food as an entry point to explore sensations on the body, I learned that bodies were like information highways – or what Foucault would describe as bodies upon which the changing environment has inscribed meaning (Foucault, 1980, 1990). It is on this post-modernist threshold where the bodies of children living in temporary relocation camps speak clearly. The postmodern subject surpasses modernist ideals that sought to contain, classify and objectively name the world. What are left are bodies on the frontier (Santos, 1995) in a constant process of forging new images and identities in differing spaces and temporal landscapes. Children living in temporary camps (in these frontiers) use their bodies as information highways, transporting them from place to place. Gabriel said, “I don’t

mind moving especially if it is out of here. When we leave here they say they are going to put all of us in containers. I think it's going to be good. It will be better than here and maybe before then we'll move into our own place made from brick not tin."

The Embodied Social Environment

For my research, extended discussions about the body hinged on the social and cultural aspects of embodiment, echoing the works of Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead amongst others. Mead and Benedict (Both Boas' students) conducted research on socialisation and personality, where focus was given to how we learn "to be" in our bodies. Mead's focus was on the rites of passage, sexual roles and the social production of sexuality, femininity and masculinity. For the children living in Blikkiesdorp, the social world of sexuality entered their life in uncensored, violent ways. The girls (the boys never shared such intimate details of sexuality with me) with whom I worked shared harrowing stories about embodied sexual violence experienced at a young age. Laelynn recounts:

Me and my two brothers and a girlfriend went to the bush to fetch some wood. We went in and we didn't know someone was following us. It was a man and a lot of dogs. They grabbed my youngest brother and the man said if we scream then he will kill Gabriel so we didn't scream. He took Gabriel to the back of the bush and we had to follow him. When we got there he spoke in Xhosa and said that we should take off our clothes and we should sleep with each other and we said no. He took my friend and raped her. When he was done with her he pulled up his zip and he walked. We said we should not move or the dogs would eat us up and the dogs was dangerous.

The roughness of this experience etched deep meanings into how they understood sex, childhood, older men (Xhosa men in particular), producing a future social reference point about race, gender and power. We see here that the body is positioned as key in epistemic formulations. In extension, the location of particular sites/spaces that give rise to an awareness of body and sociality as seen in Laelynn's account is forwarded by Marxist philosopher, Henri

Lefebvre,²⁶ who reflects upon the importance of recognising the body within material space. Space is not regarded as a metaphoric representation but rather as a crucial definitive arena that allows for sensory and sensual interactions. In this way, understanding how space is lived is fundamental in understanding bodies and their worlds. This space-body relationship is becoming increasingly useful in expanding social theory, especially in the rising urban geographical sites. Lefebvre understood the body as not being separate from history, economics and politics. So, the existence of Blikkiesdorp as a temporary relocation site, in response to a backlog of housing demands reaching back into apartheid years, in part determines the experiences of people (bodies) living in these margins (Simonsen, 2005). For Lefebvre, the body is both subject and object, not limited to particular historical and economic narratives but also created socially within physical space and tangible time, echoing Laelynn's experience of freezing the present reality to evade the immediate danger of activity in that space, locally known as "the bush of evil".

The broadening of ways to think about the body both as a product and subject of sociality is also seen in Mary Douglas's *Purity and Danger* (1966). This work placed the body as central rather than peripheral when studying sociality. Her findings called attention to "the two bodies" (Douglas, 1973), incorporating both the physical and social aspects of the body. The body was described as both the symbolic host on which the everyday was inscribed and in turn it symbolised the nature of society. For example the children froze in fear, their lives petrified into stillness, as a means to avoid further danger, symbolically arresting time until the danger had passed. Douglas also brought to light the various social categories through which the body is perceived, conceived and received. The body politic and society were expressed as giving rise to an interplay of meaning-making. The body was seen as a model or a complex structure from which other meanings are deployed and also employed (Synnott and Howes, 1992). To further explicate, Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret Lock (1987) discuss three perspectives from which the body can be viewed: the individual body (lived experience of the body-self), the social

²⁶ Lefebvre's interest in the body relates to nature, history, gestures, articulations, social practices and other external institutionalising forces. Lefebvre drew from Marx, in that he saw productive activity oriented toward an objective, where the body is used as an instrument in attaining that productivity. However, a Marxist conception of the body in relation to labour and productivity was not sufficient to further understand human beings and their relation to their bodies. What was missing was the subjective experience of labour, where emotional faculties such as joy, desire and play were missing. To this end, Lefebvre consolidated the works of Martin Heidegger and Friedrich Nietzsche.

body (the body as a natural symbol informing one on the interplay between nature, culture and society), and the body politic (the positioning of regulation, control, and surveillance on and of the body).

This mixture of ideas of the body lends itself well to the descriptions shared by the children about life on the margins. Sameerah's story encapsulates the three-fold way in which the body is viewed. She shares, "Today I am tired because I did not sleep last night because the house next door to us was broken into - [the individual body]. They took nothing, only the money that he was saving to go see his family. I was awake the whole night. Yesterday at school other people came to our school and we learned about HIV/AIDS – [the social body]. Yesterday a child fall from the sliding board from the top and blood came from his ears and his neck broke and the ambulance had to rush him to hospital and he went into a coma - [the body politic]".

Furthermore, drawing from the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty the body is understood as being a cogent force in displaying the lived experience of people. The body uses space, time and experience to position its meaning in the everyday. It uses "its acquired schemas and habits, positions its world around itself" (Simonsen, 2005: 10). The body is described as a tableau on which the environment is inscribed. These inscriptions although intangible and illusive are fundamental in figuring the body into space and time. The discussion becomes described in ontological frames, calling for a rethinking of the nature of embodiment. "Perception is no longer the inner representation of an outer world in the mind of a distinctive perceiver, but is constituted in the organic relationship between the self and the world... Above all it is in the application of corporeal schema – habitual ways of seeing, touching and listening – that the body is constituted as meaningful, and integral to our sense of self" (Shildrick, 2002: 48).

Healthy Homes

It is now increasingly recognised that health and illness and the methods employed in the pursuit of health are economically, historically and culturally located (Helman, 1984).

Furthermore, perceptions of health and illness are influenced by structural (time, spatial dynamics, environment) and socioeconomic elements (class and community transmitted beliefs). Each body wears illness and health differently and so,

when it comes to communicating quite specifically how we are feeling, the way in which we may interpret and deliver our sense of ill health is influenced by how we respond to illness in the home. Telling me about the illnesses he lives with, Aalif says:

My mother buys my pills for me when I get sick. My chest closes and I can't breathe. I have to take an asthma pump. [Being sick] doesn't make you feel right because I have to hold my chest just to breathe. It hurts a lot. When it is storming outside here, it really affects my asthma. It gets cold at night here. My eczema gets worse because of the sand. The sand gets into the sores and makes them itch. I am not allowed to scratch because that's how I make it worse.

Aalif's ailments are common illnesses affecting people living in unhealthy housing conditions. WHO states that "the accumulation of indoor pollutants and dampness...are factors in the development of allergies and asthma. Poor housing quality and design also can exacerbate the health impacts from exposure to temperature extremes" (World Health Report, 2010). For Aalif, being ill made him feel something other than "right". Living in a poorly insulated tin structure exposed him to cold conditions that triggered his respiratory challenges and therefore was central to his health. The sandy conditions of his environment aggravated his eczema. When asked if he had visited the clinic for proper diagnosis and treatment he replied, "it costs too much money for the medicines the doctors says is right." When asked what he thinks will happen to his illnesses



Taking care of the space around their homes

if they go untreated as he grows older, he replied, “I don’t know what will happen in my future, so I don’t know what will happen with my illnesses.” Offering some alleviation on hearing his story, Sameerah shared how she had healed from eczema. She said, “When I was still small I had eczema and so my mom would feed me bananas and then put the peel on my skin. I used to have it bad, but now you can’t even see the scar that much from it.” The effects of living in a tin shelter, with only a few resources at one’s disposal, meant that being subjected to extreme variations of temperature and living in a dusty environment induced illnesses which forced households to call upon their personal medical lore to ease pain and nurse bodies into health.

Section 26(1) of the Constitution states that everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. However, “adequate housing” is not easily definable in practical terms. According to the City of Cape Town, “The Delft TRA was developed in terms of the National Housing Programme for Housing Assistance in emergency circumstances, and residents receive far more services than the minimum basic requirement” (Media Release, No. 278 / 2010). Adequate housing for Jafari means, “somewhere where there isn’t bad things happening all the time and where we’re not sick all the time because of where we stay.” The government measures adequate housing in terms of access to services, Jafari refers to adequate housing in relation to safety and health. Yoking together these two perspectives is central to the goal of the WHO, who have called for an official document for international guidance on “healthy housing”. The call was made in Geneva at a WHO international workshop held from 13th to 15th October 2010. What was indicated was that there was a direct link between housing and health. “Respiratory and cardiovascular diseases from indoor air pollution; illness and deaths from temperature extremes; communicable diseases spread because of poor living conditions, and risks of home injuries” (World Health Report, 2010) were cited as the main health challenges faced by populations living in poor-quality housing. Global guidance on healthy housing may assist in identifying healthy and innovative choices in relation to environment, spatial conditions and temporal determinants.

The most salient of stories initially shared by the children was their desperate expression to be provided with alternative housing. The emphatic symphony to find a healthy home remained very present throughout the two year work we did together. Some of these stories linger:

Sameerah 12 years old - It is not nice to live in Blikkiesdorp because when it is cold it is not nice and also when it is hot. I wish we could get houses. I want the government to give us houses. Here in Blikkiesdorp we don't even have money for bread. I am crying in my heart for a house. I am very confused because I don't know which side to go. I wish someone could help us. Give us a house please government. We don't want Blikkiesdorp.

Rameez 9 years old - Here are people who still waiting for houses in Blikkiesdorp. Here did come a snake in H Block. He did bite a woman on the toe then the woman did go to death. The people fight and they shouting for houses and yesterday there did come people at the back of us. They did want to kill that man. They did hit his window in, then the police came.

Gabriel 11 years old - I don't feel nice to share one toilet with four houses. Here in Blikkiesdorp are a lot of blocked drains and toilets. Lots of people and children are getting sick from using the toilets that are blocked. When it is raining all the water are laying in the streets. I don't think it is fair towards the people that are living here. Lots of people are dying here and lots of children are getting born here.

Laelynn 13 years old - At the beginning it was cool to live in Blikkiesdorp. Before we moved to Blikkiesdorp we lived on the street [Main Road] called Symphony Way. We lived there for almost two years and a half. We moved to Blikkiesdorp because the government said that they have to open the roads. But now it is not always so nice to live in Blikkiesdorp because the people [gangsters] is breaking in in Blikkiesdorp. The people like to gossip in Blikkiesdorp.

In Summary

The plurality of bodily experiences in a vast arena of varying contexts makes it difficult to encapsulate the multiplicity of current reflections on the body into one specific knowledge unit. Owing to the dynamic and variable positioning of bodies through history, culture, politics and economics, one narrative of the body does not suffice. Postmodern popular culture sees the turning away from constructivist thinking around the body proper to a more “dynamic, intersubjective” (Lock and Farquhar, 2007: 2), interpenetrative, multiple experience of the body that dissolves the singular corporeal vessel through which the body has previously been explained.

The body mapping exercise opened the discussion about the experience of health and illness in the body. What was shown was that the experience of illness in and on the body can be located in a wider ring of sociality and culturality. The embodiment of the social and physical environment revealed a rich tapestry of life on the frontier, from which colourful strands of meaning could be lifted, explored and understood. Using their embodied experience as a reference point, the children articulated their political hopes that someday they would be given their long-awaited, government-subsidised brick house. A brick house signifies health, safety and stability. In finding home, the hot pursuit of surviving on the margins could abate, leaving in its wake the settling dust.

6 Theatre on the Move

In this chapter I argue that the stories we share convey our experiences and are expressions of the lived experience. To borrow from Fabian, “Cultural knowledge is always mediated by “acting”” (1990: 7). My data suggest that children’s stories (reflections of experiences observed) act as interactive self-portraits that are not fixed but exposed to changes and distortions. Similarly, David Lancy (2008) finds that “one of the most compelling attributes about childhood is the tendency to observe others. Imitation or make-believe (in play) seems to serve complementary and similar ends. Being a spectator and incorporating what one has observed into one’s play are simultaneously entertaining and educational” (154). Within the context of domestic violence, Mullender et al. (2002) state that, for children, “being listened to and taken seriously as participants in the domestic violence situation” (121) is essential in locating solutions to coping and dealing with violence. This sentiment is further echoed in the works of Fergus Hogan and Máire O’Reilly (2007) in their incisive report written for the Centre for Social and Family Research Department of Applied Art, Waterford Institute of Technology and titled *Listening to children: Children’s stories of domestic violence*. Their research, although directly focusing on children’s experiences of domestic violence, provides extensive detail on children’s capacities to reflect and express clearly their understandings of lived violence in general. The report suggests what Susan Engel (1995) asserts in her seminal book, *The Stories Children Tell: Making Sense of the Narratives of Children*. She argues that a great deal can be learnt about the logic behind children’s stories, how to interpret them, as well as how children of varying ages and settings tell stories differently (a story may differ in terms of the imagery chosen, the narrative voice and what is being told and shared, but also what is being concealed).

Through stories, children use a voice that becomes an expressive tool used to communicate a series of feelings, emotions and observations prompted by one another; each person attuned to

the testimony of the speaker. Stories shared range from direct experiences in the camp enclosure to gossip about people in their social network. The primary sites of story development and its relevancy in terms of anthropological research is the interplay of memory, mimicry, reminiscence and symbolism (symbolic play) as a tool that resonates an understanding of the world (Engel, 1995). Creating an ethnographic tool to study the ways in which children interpret, interact and understand their environments, using expressions of their own, was essential to reflecting on how children in TRAs understood and perceived their surroundings. I asked the children to create a performance that was written, directed and set-designed by them. In this way, a sense of personal ownership of the types of expressions they shared would be fostered. The space created would allow them to dictate their creative meanderings and create a freedom with which to construct the terms of their performance. Moreover, what developed from the children's imagination were expressions that may not have emerged had the approach been to ask questions and have them answered in return. As Fabian remarks, "The ethnographer's role...is no longer that of a questioner; he or she is but a provider of occasions, a catalyst in the weakest sense, and a producer (in analogy to a theatrical producer) in the strongest" (Fabian, 1990: 7). This framing of the ethnographers role has been described by Victor Turner as that of an "ethnodramaturg" (Ibid.: 7).

Fabian speaks of performances as texts that come into being, "in the moment of actualization" (Ibid.: 9). The play that the children performed was never scripted. Each performance, similarly to the performance in Fabians seminal work, was acted upon from a rudimentary outline they had created in the first moments of discussing what would be performed. Over the two-month period the children rehearsed in forests and public gardens around Cape Town, the green surroundings representing their future audience. During this time, the performance was subjected to a series of entextualisations that really contributed to the power and usefulness of active performative ethnography. On the 14th May 2011, at the New Africa Theatre Association, their production was received with a standing ovation by their parents, friends and the general public.

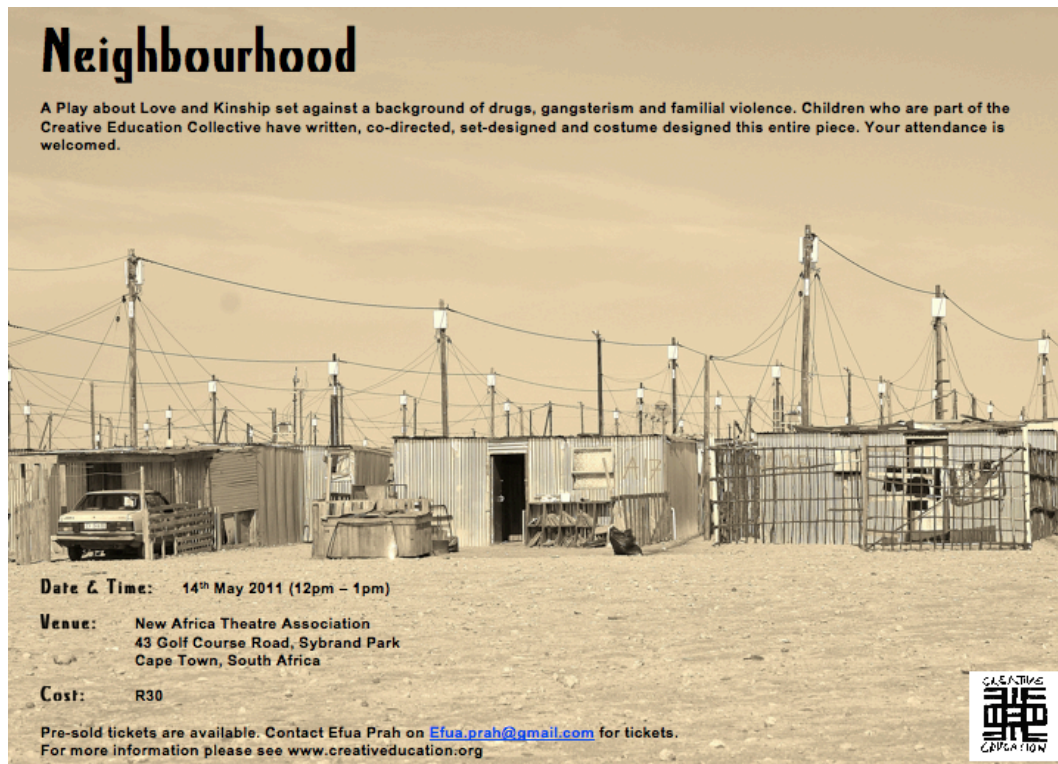
The intimacy of the New Africa Theatre created a space of immediacy. The audience were a metre from the stage, and this close proximity made the retelling of their story feel as if they were sharing amongst friends. The children developed the basic plot of the story, with all the main characters established, in less than 10 minutes. They internalised their environments and

the players within that field. From the body movements of a drug addict getting his “fix” after suffering through a long spell of withdrawal symptoms, to how a concerned mother responds to continual violence and challenges, the children showed they were indeed keen observers of their environment. Their story was replete with complex characters who operated within a vice-like grip of violence. None were exceptions to the cycle of violence; all were subject to the challenges of drugs, sexuality, intergenerational violent communication and familial conflicts. During the rehearsal process I asked them what story they wanted to share with their community and the wider public, what message they needed to articulate, and how best they could co-create a platform where they could be heard. I encouraged them to explore their imagination and to feel limitless in their creativity. From that limitless space I was curious to see what would spring forth. I wanted to study what they would choose to express when they had the platform to do so.



The children during rehearsals at the New Africa Theatre House

Neighbourhood – A Play about Love and Kinship Set Against a Background of Drugs, Gangsterism and Family Violence



Poster used to invite an audience to see the children's performance

The underlying story or plot of the play, which the children titled *Neighbourhood*, delivered the complexity of living with violence. The characters portrayed the many faces of violence as they appeared in the children's lives. The main character, "Shaleen" (played by Sameerah), was a 15 year-old girl who was trying to grapple with the loss of her father and the alienation she felt from her mother (played by Laelynn). Her curiosity for the glitzy nightlife of her community fuelled her addiction to drugs, compounded with her exploration of sexuality with three different partners (two of whom were dangerous gangsters and one a police officer – played by Jafari – all operating to gain authority and control of their neighbourhood), resulting in her becoming pregnant. Her tumultuous life journey reaches a climax when all three of her partners fight over paternal rights to the child she is carrying, ending in her accidental death when "Donny" (played by Gabriel) misfires a gun he aimed at his brother,

“Danny” (played by Aalif) for the betrayal of their brotherly bond. The story Shaleen carries follows a familiar narrative for the children and what they witness. It is a typical story they have witnessed in Blikkiesdorp. During a post-performance discussion with the audience, the children said that these characters “are people [they] see every day”. Shaleen is their next-door neighbour, their classmate, their cousin.

The dynamic duo, Donny and Danny, two brothers who terrorise their neighbourhood space, claiming authority and power through domination, intimidation and ruthless disregard, also maintain a measure of respect for Shaleen’s mother, who was shown to be raising her daughter as best as she could, given the extremely trying situation of living with limited resources. The two brothers help each other to expand their drug and gang territory. Donny is a leader of a prominent gang in the neighbourhood, and his brother Danny controls the primary drug-trafficking routes. Their support for each other traces the familial and kinship ties that operate within their neighbourhood. For the children, their experience of support and strength is directly through their familial ties, reflecting the importance family plays in their lives.

For example, as part of an earlier mapping exercise, the children were given disposable cameras with which they were asked to show me their world through photographic stills. After a month of them taking pictures, their shots were developed and a robust discussion about what each of their pictures represented for them was held. Each of the children had taken pictures of their family and friends. None of the six children had taken pictures of the landscape or sites/buildings they frequented. Their focus and frame were their family and friends. When this observation was brought to their attention, they shared that family was indeed important to them. They described their families as safety nets, and said in final analysis that their “family were the only people who really cared”. In the play this reflection was echoed in the close relationship shared between Donny and Danny. The social drama that ends in one of the brothers turning a gun on the other, manifests as a bitter twist when both discover that the young girl whom they both love intensely is pregnant. This is the first time they come to know about Shaleen’s multiple-partner affairs. They both simultaneously experience the emotions of deceit and dishonour, exploding into an aggressive fight over

paternal rights. Here we see the glimmers of how a woman/girl is commodified as property to be owned by her lover, and that crossing this unspoken agreement made between brothers or friends is an action that does not go unpunished.

“Inspector Webe” (played by Jafari), the third angle in Shaleen’s love triangle, is a good-cop-gone-bad. His “goodness” is exemplified in his continuous efforts to rid the neighbourhood of drugs and gangsterism. Although constantly beaten, harassed and eventually shot by Donny, his commitment to cleaning-up the streets shows the almost heart-rendering persistence of police officers in a situation that is overwhelming. His simultaneous “bad-side” is created by his sexual relationship with a minor (Shaleen). The audience would like to empathise with his battle to rid the streets of crime and terror, yet the existence of his relationship with Shaleen puts his moral credibility in the spotlight. What the children were saying here was that everyone in their surroundings is entangled in moral dilemmas, enabling them to perpetuate the cycle of violence. They said, in reflection, “Nothing is good about this place. The cops are the worst.”

Shaleen’s mother is the cardinal point in the story, singularly carrying the underlying message of the entire tale. Her struggle to raise her daughter in such difficult circumstances represents the children’s subjective reality most clearly. Of all the characters, the mother in the play is the character with whom they all identify most closely. Shaleen’s mother is the character they most respect, honour and empathise with; she represents the essence of what they feel on a daily basis. She tries to create moral and safe boundaries for her daughter when she implores the gregarious Shaleen to cut down on her evening parties. She lovingly supports her daughter when Shaleen finds out she is pregnant, and she is afforded respect by Donny and Danny (boys she has known since they were born) when she asks them to accompany Shaleen to the hospital. She is the definitive tragedy in this story. Her efforts are burdened with the challenges she faces every day in her neighbourhood. Ultimately she loses her only child to gang-related violence, a story all too familiar in areas such as Blikkiesdorp.

Through each of these characters we most explicitly witness the occurrence, depth and complexity of life as the children know it. The performance was a subjective tale of what life in a temporary residential area is like, revealing how the children are keen observers of their

worlds. In the words of Veena Das, “children model themselves on the adults they witness...looking to their own, and their culture’s, future. But they often ‘play’ the inequalities they remember, recording violence on an honest slate: the child is stranger to neither grim violence nor wild imagination” (Das, 1989: 263). In reflecting upon her experiences of working with children in both Punjab and with Sindhi Sikhs’ families living in Delhi, Das shows that children are not passive recipients of the world. Indeed, they provide their experience as “an inner reality” (Ibid.: 264), a subversive account, an organised setting that describes their lived experience in dynamic and varied ways. They create narratives of their own that speak directly to their idea about the world they inhabit. The senses that children describe and perform in the everyday are their talismans, used to facilitate meaning in their everyday experience of violence.

During the production of the play, I kept reminding the children that what they were presenting was a story they wanted to tell. Therefore, when they performed either in rehearsals or to an audience, they were always mindful about what message they wanted to send out. The performative force was further realised through their careful stage direction. They were constantly teaching and reminding each other how to “open-up” to the audience, how to “really share” their story. The scenography was masterfully put together as they chose the musical score, stage-lighting and the dialogue amongst characters. Their awareness of being the spectacle during rehearsals added a crucial dimension to their eventual delivery. During the delivery they moved about the stage in total awareness of each other, supporting both themselves and the important story they wanted to share (Worthen, 1998: 1098).

For them the play was more than a staged performance; it was a statement sent out to their friends and family that they were not invisible people in their community, they were in sharp focus, agential and aware of the reality around them. Similarly to what Das explains when she writes, “Children in the slums reflected the dark and sometimes macabre reality of the life of the community in their play and often had to play their games in defiance of adults” (Das, 1989: 279), the children used the stage to pronounce that they were fully-loaded sentient beings, plugged in and absorbing the details of their daily lives. Laelynn reflects about the theatre play they conceived saying, “Our parents cried when they saw us on the stage.” Sameerah joins in and says, “They were very pleased with us because we could show them

that we are taking note of things that are happening in Blikkiesdorp.” In this example, the children openly state that the world around them does not happen *to* them, they assert strongly that they are constantly involved in engaging, interpreting and making sense of their worlds. Das says, “The behaviour encountered in everyday life was mapped onto play. The children were taking roles and learning to represent the ‘other’ as he or she is concretely encountered. What needs to be emphasized in this context is that children do not represent only the concrete other in their play but also try to represent what they see as the future.” Das uses play here differently to the way I used it, as a methodological tool in learning about the lifeworlds that children internalise and reflect in everyday interactions. What is similar, in these very different expressions of play, is the discerning manner in which play often mimics the environment in which a child lives. Whether for an audience, or to be shared amongst friends, or for one’s own uses, play is how children make sense of their world.

The children involved themselves in this project with an enthusiasm that I interpret as their attraction to the possibilities of being in another body, inhabiting a different operative lens. We spent a great amount of time exploring the characters they created. Character development showed the nuanced observations they casually make. Their knowledge of drug-lords, gang leaders, drug addicts, mothers, young girls, and policemen living in a community resulted in a performance that was hauntingly close to reality. The play showed that they actively absorb their environment, continuously interpreting inherited meanings and reconstructed identities. Through working with children using this methodological approach, in this particular setting of Blikkiesdorp, they were seen to be actively involved in the internalisation and the making of their worlds. They were seen to be active, complete people, who understand their surroundings in very precise ways. They sense their worlds with remarkable acuity: witnessing everything, absorbing everything, making meaning of everything that they see, down to the smallest thing – how someone walks, how a drug addict hungers for the next fix, the mannerisms that a particular person has, the way in which they speak – they understood it all.

It is simple to describe the children's journey as a series of comings and goings, beginnings and endings, openings and closings; to imagine that living in temporality (as the children do) is a rite of passage, a ritual created from a history of forced removals and evictions. Using Van Gennep's concept of *rites de passage* (1909) we can begin



Making the backdrop for the play

to unpick the complexities of displacement, revealing the intricate layers that underscore forced removals and state-led mass evictions. Such rituals often possess, firstly, rites of separation; secondly, rites of limen or marginality; and thirdly, rites of re-aggregation. Using this framework the children, it would seem, are living in a continuous *rite de passage*, part of a hellish loop between the first and second *rites de passage*, unable to move into the third stage of re-aggregation. I joined their journey at the advent of their initial violent removal and separation from one idea of home, into a space where the old rules no longer applied and new ones were still in the making. In this new margin of reality they were confronted with a space that was “at once liberating and terrifying” (Turner, 1982: 252), where the children seem caught between and betwixt a morbid reality.²⁷

Dialogic Theatre Performance

An anthropological approach to performance may direct us toward an analysis of the everyday occurrences in people's lives and how these are enacted by individuals through various rituals, recitals, mimes and displays of emotions. The accounting of the “nondramatic, non-theatrical, non-scripted, ceremonial, and everyday-life performances” (Worthen, 1998: 1093) expounds in detail the particularities of people's lifeworlds. The study of performance in the social sciences is wide ranging and multiple in its aims and methods (Worthen, 1998).

²⁷ Perhaps their attraction to being involved in Creative Education reflects their determination to move into Van Gennep's final stage of re-aggregation, “the subject is returned to the mundane realm, restored to health and integrity” (Turner, 1982: 252).

What the children produced was an exploration of performance: how the performance spoke and indeed still speaks of the real experience of living in between spaces; the multiplicity of identities constantly in negotiation and the subsequent meanings attached to certain spaces within specific time frames. The performance they enacted was a display of “authorised embodiment” (Ibid.:1095), a term I borrow from a renowned figure in contemporary performance studies and practice, William Worthen. Worthen uses this term to refer to the limiting structures of the literary dramatic genre of scripts like William Shakespeare or the works of Samuel Beckett, where performances become authorised derivatives of literary works – the performance becomes constrained/consigned/limited within what has been “authorised” or prescribed within a dramatic text. In contrast, I use this term as a means of explaining the willingness, openness and mastery over the characters the children developed in their play. They implicitly allowed for a convincing embodiment of the gangster, the drug user, the single mother. What was presented was precise authority over the characters, complete ownership, and an authoritative voice describing the figures they observe in their environments. In many ways the characters they developed could not be contested by their community because they slipped scarily between the imagined and the real. They permitted themselves to occupy each character with haunting accuracy, giving themselves the opportunity to journey into the worlds of the characters they embodied.

For the children, there was a twist of fascination and fear in each of the stories told by their characters; a danger and exhilaration of allowing/authorising themselves to be the characters that they imagined into reality. Through the performance they traversed the contours of the people within their community, who they observed with fear, empathy, sadness and admiration. Within the depths of these very complex and compelling characters a host of meanings, prescribed by experiences, emerge. Amongst the characters an intricate dance of loyalties, kinship ties and social dynamics open up, describing the values embedded within the collective imagination of the children. Donny and Danny’s familial loyalty to each other was shown through their support of each other’s power conquests – Donny through gang warfare and Danny through drug-selling territory. The sinister twist of their fates is presented by the young Shaleen, who gets involved with both of them, unbeknownst to either. This love-triangle results in the eventual death of both Danny and Shaleen, when Donny discovers

her infidelity with his brother. This discovery is enough to shatter their brotherly bond, further driving Donny into madness, violence and despair. The closing scene is of Donny weeping over the dead body of his beloved Shaleen.

The force of this dramatic performance was delivered through the interactions of each of the characters. The emotion brought forth in each of the characters could only have been delivered with such startling comprehension if the children were in fact keen observers and interpreters of the world around them, contrary to what their parents had believed. This was evident when Mr Gierdien tearfully commented after seeing the performance, “We didn’t know they saw so much that happened here in Blikkiesdorp.” The theatre created a space for visibility and reception: a platform where they used the stage as a sounding board to express their interpretation of their everyday experience. The play they delivered reproduced an entire self-ethnography of what they internalise, what they validate, and what meanings are made through their re-enactment of life. The stage represented a powerful medium to be received and heard. It was indeed the first time their expression and commentary of their lives was so attentively waited upon.

Their expressivity, seen through an apparatus of visibility, stimulated dialogue amongst their family and wider community. Through the theatre production their everyday social drama was shared, reiterating the complex relationships they negotiate. After performing their play, the children sat as a panel of experts on their own lives. I had wanted the children to experience an unmediated reception of their perceptions and, in turn, I wanted the audience to dialogue with the children in an atmosphere where the starting point was projected through a child’s unadulterated lens of what takes place in Blikkiesdorp. What was clear was that the dramatic performance reiterated their daily regimes. The degree of violence experienced was a prominent question, as the audience grappled with how remarkably close the children were to *knowing* violence. Interestingly, a reflection on forced removals, shifting landscapes and changing homes were not apparent in the play. Seemingly, movement as a structural feature in their life did not assume a primary role. What was most evident was the impact a particular kind of violence was having in their lives. The type of violence through which they manoeuvred was so concentrated and so unfiltered; it was like an explosion of people’s

unmet needs as they jostled, tugged and pulled in their efforts to claim power and hustle for money.

Dwight Conquergood, an ethnographer who worked primarily with marginalised communities and groups – notably American gangs and refugee communities in South East Asia – wrote a definitive article in 2002, in which he discusses the potentiality of performance-research on delivering additional knowledge, opening up the canon of seemingly linear ethnographic accounts. What he calls for is a constellation of knowledge systems born from performance-based research that validates other marginalised realities and, implicitly, other fields of knowledge. The use of the performance in ethnography is crucial both as a mode of investigation and as a mode of participant self-representation and affirmation. Conquergood says “performance-sensitive ethnography [modifies the] power dynamic of the research situation [which] changes when the ethnographer moves from the gaze of the distanced and detached observer to the intimate involvement and engagement of ‘coactivity’ or co-performance with historically situated, named, ‘unique individuals’ ” (*Rethinking Ethnography*: 187–88 in Worthen, 1998: 1099). Similarly, in his article titled *Dramatic Ritual/Ritual Drama: Performative and Reflexive Anthropology*, Victor Turner looks at how ethnography can be shared through performance as a way to connect more critically with the ethnographic text. Arguably, the reader of ethnographies is removed from the reality of those being written about. Through the staged performance the reader connects, taking in the processes and rituals of the people under the ethnographic microscope. The performance brings the reader in direct confrontation with the lived experience of the environments under investigation. In many ways, theatre can be seen as, “an act of memory and an act of creation, performance recalls and transforms the past in the form of the present” (Worthen, 1998: 1101).

Prompted by a collaborative project between director Peter Brooke and play-write Collin Higgins Turner was “alerted...to the possibility of turning suitable ethnographic data into play scripts” (Turner, 1979a: 82). Using Turnbull’s research and study of the Ik of Uganda, Brooke and Higgins converted this research into a series of dramatic scripts that were performed on Paris, London and New York. The possibilities of a merger between

anthropologists and theatre-study scholars would contribute on both an intercultural and intracultural level, widening the understanding of social relationships and environments. Furthermore, Turner sees the incorporation of the performative dimension as crucial in “bringing into completion” (Ibid.) the “action-meaning” of the data presented. For Richard Schechner, the liminal phase of those in performance exposes the potentialities of self-experimentation through the poesis structure of theatrical expression. It is a processual style, with the role of the character developing along with the actor. As such, the actor’s character role is “figured” through the rehearsal stages, which often involve dynamic and interesting moments of self-reflection.

Turner argues that “such a method is particularly appropriate for anthropological teaching because...the ‘poietic’ sincerity creates behaviour from within” (Ibid.: 85) revealing key insights into the subjectivities of active bodies, unconscious and conscious reflections and inflections of lifeworlds, and ultimately revealing the critical journeys of people and of communities (Ibid.: 92–93). Where Turner uses social drama as a way to explore the schisms in sociality and the crisis-ridden liminal spaces of the everyday, Erving Goffman approaches the everyday as a performed, ongoing/scenographic biography (Turner, 1987: 4). In a sense, if daily living is variation of a lived theatre, the social drama/performed drama is a meta-language of expression. What is shared amongst the three authors Goffman, Schechner and Turner is a naming of social living within the processual and theatrical qualities of performance and reflexivity, the directed trajectory of displacement, liminality and then reintegration (Turner, 1987).

Using the imagination as an instrument of self-reflexivity, the play intended to stage the children’s lives within a framework that could both lend a platform to publicly situate their “invisibility” and to explore the ways in which children living in TRAs seek to account for their lived experience. The presentation of their imagination on a public platform/stage, dramatised their inflections in a liminal space where invisible, unarticulated perspectives emerged “betwixt-and-between the normal, day-to-day cultural and social states and processes” (Turner, 1979b: 465). Echoing the essence of Turner’s attraction to a symbiosis of the performance and ethnography, the children through their stage drama *Neighbourhood* generated alternate ways of “framing and modelling the social reality which presses on them

in their daily lives” (Ibid.: 466) and explored a fair amount of reflexivity within their descriptive narrative (Ibid.: 486). As articulated by Schechner, stage dramas create the possibility to explore “the impulse to be serious and to entertain; to collect meanings and to pass the time; to display symbolic behaviour that actualises ‘there and then’ and to exist only ‘here and now’; to be oneself and to play at being others; to be in a trance and to be conscious; to get results and to fool around; to focus the action on and for a select group sharing a hermetic language, and to broadcast to the largest possible audiences of strangers who buy a ticket” (Schechner in Turner, 1979b: 496–497). The phenomenon has a resounding relevance in ethnography, if not only to share a story with an attentive audience, then to bring into light important aspects of how the children understand, interpret and imagine their worlds.

Their theatrical piece spotlighted the societally dimmed characters of their reality, the characters that skulk in dark areas of their temporary residential camp, the brutish images they see, perceive and know, and the unspeakable. These performed images provoke strong emotions not only for the invited audience but also for the actors themselves, who are taken on a compelling journey in self-reflexivity, re-enacting the irredeemable violence around them. What everyone sees, hears, senses is the ugliness of their reality, the messiness of their temporality, and this witnessing may perhaps be enough to complete the *rite de passage*, if all witnesses, actors and audience alike acknowledge the performance as a poiesis of reality and not an imitation of reality (Turner, 1982: 263).

Amidst the imaginary worlds of children is an invisible line where real characters emerge, uncovering dense and complex stories that are saturated with meaning. The narration of their worlds and the subsequent manifestation of that imagined world are also useful as they assist in making sense of their experiences, both personally and publicly. What this methodological approach offered was “an avenue for linking personal experience to cultural knowledge, norms and tenets” (Mattingly and Garro, 2000: 28), moving the unsaid social drama of their everyday experience into sharp focus. What is understood from the onset is that children in Blikkiesdorp are keen anthropologists of their world. What is revealed through their performance is that, within a liminal space like Blikkiesdorp, the children developed a particular curiosity and hence a thoroughness in detailing character sketches of key players in

their environments. Their observance is testament to their essential agential position and to the creative possibilities of having alternate perspectives of the world. An understanding of what children know and what information they use to understand life is an added value in configuring a deeper understanding of social phenomena. Children in Blikkiesdorp are continually figuring, mapping and naming their world, as much as adults do. Using theatre performance as a methodological approach to listen to stories from children effectively enables a nuanced descriptive performance of lived experience. Witnesses of such performances are immediately brought into a dialogical experience where valuable things can be learnt about children, from children.

After the performance took place, they said they felt like “superstars”, “invincible” and “valued”. The performance was shown to a full house on both morning and afternoon shows. The morning show was open to family, friends and the wider public, and the afternoon show was performed for school-going children between the ages of 15 and 18. Both audiences responded positively, and the children were thrilled at the reception of their performance. At the end of the performance we had a panel discussion with the audience. The children were the experts on their lives, and the audience members were positioned to take part in a dialogical exchange. It was a highly emotive session; audience, children and parents alike cried openly, expressing what I imagine and understand as the simple act of listening and receiving. At the end of the performance, one of the parents pulled me aside and said, “You know Efua, every Saturday you come and you take the kids away or, you know, during the holidays you come and you take the kids three times a week, and I always thought that you were just messing around with them, just having fun, I had no idea that you were actually working on something that was so important.”

“Come quick, come, come!

There’s a man by P Block whose eye is just so hanging out. The other man knocked him on the head at the back and then his eye popped out. There’s a lot of blood and he’s holding his eye like this!”

– Gabriel

A theme that pierces my reflections on the flats of Blikkiesdorp is the emotional landscape, holed-in with violence. The research sets out to explore children’s narratives of health and wellbeing in temporary social environments, punctuated by forced removals and mobile families. The thesis identifies the effects of displacement, marginality and the subsequent violence that marks children’s daily experience in Cape Town’s Symphony Way Temporary Relocation Camp, or Blikkiesdorp as it is locally known. The research also seeks to reveal the nuanced observations children make, and how these observations offer insights into the broader meanings that are created and reinforced socially. The children in this study are keen observers who express their interpretations of the world in bold and brilliant ways. The research question seeks to answer the following: What can we infer about the experiences of children living in temporary relocation camps by looking at their narratives of health and wellbeing in terms of how they make meaning of food security, shelter, and other things to stay healthy?

²⁸ The children used *Gevaarlik* to suggest or describe something as “cool” and exciting. The irony is in its direct translation from Afrikaans. In Afrikaans, “gevaarlik” means “dangerous”.

Beginning the research was a major marker of how my relationship with the children evolved and how my interactions with them contributed to the methodological approach I employed. The methodological approach was housed in a project I called Creative Education, which in its most minimal objective allowed for a listening space through creative processing. Researching the rawness of movement and concomitantly offering a facility afforded ample time for self-reflection, which resulted in a wealth of in-depth observations. I began my research in reflection of Nigel Rapport's use of the word "poiesis", which he uses in reference to individual creativity when approaching the subject of the nature of violence and social structure. Rapport's exploration into Gregory Bateson's reflections of human individuals' "energy source" and even further back to a Nietzschean understanding of the creative force of the individual to determine the nature of our lived experience, places an emphasis on the creative wisdom that underlies the methodological process I undertook in my field work (Aijmer and Abbink, 2000). Rapport goes further, using Jean Paul Sartre to explain how individuals create and make meaning of the world around them. It is a given that each individual is born into a specific sociocultural and contextual historical framework but, it is argued, "he is responsible for the sense he makes out of them, the meanings he grants them... In short, he might be surrounded by the 'actual facts' of an objective historico-socio-cultural present, but he can transcend their brutishness, surpass a mere being-in-the-midst-of things, by attaining the continuous possibility of imagined meanings" (Ibid.: 43). This ever-changing emergent quality described by Sartre and re-positioned by Rapport ushers in a deeper sense of understanding the usefulness of using creative projects as a methodological approach. Implicit in this emergent quality of meaning-making is a sense of continuously contesting boundaries, consistently "going beyond" (Ibid.) the margins of space, place and time. It was from this initial springboard that my ethnography developed in full expression, in full colour and in full presence to the stories shared by children living in temporary relocation camps.

Results

The methodological approach I used explored aspects of forced removals and displacement, and the prevalence of violence in temporary relocation camps. Exploring pathways and patterns of identity, embodiment and experiences of health and illness, and the expressive,

revealing quality of theatre, delivered rich data that produced an ethnographic account of children's experiences in Blikkiesdorp. Each of these particular aspects of research are reflected in the chapters Moving Beyond; Meeting the Children; Identity; Displacement; Body Talk; and Theatre on the Move.

This thesis argues that the idea that children are keen, active and acutely observant subjects in their unfolding narratives, is integral to the research field of children and childhood studies. Through the use of performative ethnography, we can clearly see that they create, shape and reinforce sociocultural meanings. For children living in temporary relocation camps, these meanings are suffused with violent experiences that follow them across the changing landscapes generated from frequent mobility. Data gathered revealed the impact violence has on children's perceptions of health and wellbeing. Laelynn, Gabriel, Jafari, Sameerah and Faizah revealed on several occasions, and in various ways, their disdain for living in temporality, and how in terms of state intervention they felt unsupported and forgotten. Gabriel said, "Nobody cares about us here in Blikkiesdorp."

Through an exploration of identity, insight is given into how children negotiate difference and "othering", and how they formulate an understanding of their environment through sociocultural and economic factors. When Laelynn, Gabriel, Jafari, Sameerah and Faizah spoke about identity, they incorporated reflections about the presence of violence in their "habitus" and how they navigate their way in and around the camp enclosure. Movement into safety (a space without violence) typically meant movement out of the camp. This aspect of the research was framed within current debates about displacement and the subsequent effects displacement has on people's sense of identity, space and place. Research findings revealed that moving out of Blikkiesdorp, and hence out of violence, is a welcomed future prospect in an overburdened present. The temporary nature of Blikkiesdorp in a small way makes the violence seemingly bearable. Faizah, one of the six participants, says, "I'm not going to be here forever, so it's ok...soon I'm going to America."

It is further argued and shown that the children shared an embodied knowledge of both the physical and social environment, relating their experiences in reference to living in a healthy home – a feature they understood to be essential to health and wellbeing. Using drama and

performance, the children created a tragic theatrical piece, *Neighbourhood*, that explored the themes of violence, kinship, love and loss, set within a narrative of gangsterism, drugs, teenage pregnancy, multiple partners and inter-generational conflict.

Theoretical Implications

Listening to children's reflections of life in a temporary relocation camp, the research findings show the slippages in descriptions and categories of children and childhood. Their stories reflect a fluidity of identifications and responsibilities that criss-cross notions of what it is to be a child, youth or adult in sites of frequent forced mobility. The emergent anthropology, articulated most clearly in the UNCRC, takes into account three guiding principles of how current debates problematise ideas about children and childhood. The Convention articulates these principles as: protection, provision and participation. These underlying principles encourage a particular kind of sensitivity and awareness that is inclusive of the perceptions of children. The third principle has been particularly relevant to my research. This participatory model, that is mapped onto reflections of children and childhood, has been essential in generating research and policy strategies, positioning children as agential members of society (Sartain, Clarke and Heyman, 2000), interacting and reconstructing sociocultural and political locations (Bluebond-Langner and Korbin, 2007). This aspect is further articulated in my research.

The movement away from Piaget's model of viewing childhood as a linear progression of development to adulthood is reflected in current anthropological scholarship that focuses on the multiplicity of presentations of children and childhood that cannot be contained in a singular trajectory. Findings presented here speak directly to the multiple figurations present in the everyday, as children living in particularly violent settings forge identities, negotiate health and illness and determine their sense of space and place in consistently shifting boundaries. Their experiences of childhood deviate from linear descriptions of how children are, staining the landscape with a distinctive figuration (Castaneda, 2002) of childhoods in temporary relocation camps, a figuration that shares the stories of children as direct, incisive, and excellent reflectors of social conditions, political and economic climates. The research presented here builds onto current figurations of children as agential members of society,

taking the debate further, to argue that perspectives of children are on par with reflections provided by adults within society. The findings sourced from children's stories reflect a nuanced commentary on the sociopolitical and economic realities of the vast majority of South Africans. The children who were part of this research provide commentary on our social world. Their stories can contribute volumes to current state policies relating to forced removals, internal displacement, housing relocations programmes, and development planning.

What is apparent from my research is the urgent necessity for the children to tell their stories of the everyday. The final methodological module – creating the theatrical piece – was the crescendo of my journey with them. Throughout the rehearsal process I suggested that staging a performance was primarily about telling a story. I asked, “What do you want to share? People are watching this, what do you want to say to them?” With these questions in mind, the story's development was in constant reformation and formulation. The subject of violence took on an ominous role, appearing menacingly in their descriptions as they searched for meanings in my reactions to their stories. Each rehearsal produced a different script, a synecdoche of life in a TRA. The flexibility afforded in this approach allowed for rich expressions of lived experience that primarily highlighted the children's direct interactions with their worlds. I had expected that they would make up a story about castles in the sky, monsters, spirits and so forth. Instead, they figured a world so real in its make-believe, so poignant in its assertion that they “take note of everything that is happening here in Blikkiesdorp” (Sameerah, 12 years old). Their stories are a testimony to life on the move.



A day spent at the beach

Reference List

- Absalom, Esau (2001) *“Previously called” Coloured People: Past and Present, 350 years*, Rehoboth, Namibia: CBH Publishers.
- Adhikari, Mohamed (2005) *Not Black Enough, Not White Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*, Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio Press.
- Adhikari, Mohamed (ed.) (2009) *Burdened by Race: Coloured identities in southern Africa*, Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Aijmer, Göran and Abbink, Jon (2000) *Meanings of Violence. A Cross-cultural Perspective*, Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Archard, David (1993) *Children: Rights and Childhood*, Second Edition, London and New York: Routledge.
- Mafeje, Archie (2001) *Anthropology in Post-Independence Africa: End of an Era and the Problem of Self-Redefinition*, In Mafeje, A. (ed.) *African Social Scientists Reflections Part 1*; Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Foundation.
- Armbruster, Heidi and Lærke, Anna (eds.) (2010) *Taking sides: Ethics, Politics and Fieldwork in Anthropology*, New York: Berghahn Books.
- Ashworth, Gregory John and Graham, Brian J. (2005) *Senses Of Place: Senses Of Time*, United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing.
- Bank, Leslie John (2011) *Home spaces, street styles: Contesting power and identity in a South African city*, London: Pluto Press; Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Benedict, Ruth (1934) *Patterns of Culture*, United States of America: Marina Books.
- Boas, Franz (1937) ‘The Interrelation of Cultures: The Diffusion of Cultural Traits’, *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 4(3): 286–295.
- Boas, Franz (1899) ‘The Cephalic Index’, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 1(3): 448–461.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1994) *In Other Words*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1990) *The Logic of Practice*, California: Stanford University Press.
- Bluebond-Langner, Myra and Korbin, Jill (Guest eds.) (2007) ‘Challenges and Opportunities in the Anthropology of Childhoods: An Introduction to “Children, Childhoods, and Childhood Studies”’, in *In Focus: Children, Childhoods, and Childhood Studies*, *American Anthropologist*, 109(2): 241–246.

- Bray, Rachel and Gooskens, Imke (2006) 'Ethics and the everyday: Reconsidering approaches to research involving children and young people, *Anthropology South Africa*, 29(1): 44 - 55.
- Bray, Rachel; Gooskens, Imke; Kahn, Lauren; Moses, Sue and Seekings, Jeremy (2010) *Growing up in the New South Africa: Childhood and Adolescence in Post-Apartheid Cape Town*, South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Buckley, Belinda (2003) *Children's Communication Skills: From Birth to Five Years*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Bucholtz, Mary (2000) 'The Politics of Transcription', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32(10): 1439-1465.
- Burman, Sandra and Reynolds, Pamela (eds.) (1986) *Growing up in a Divided Society: The Contexts of Childhood in South Africa*, Johannesburg: Raven Press.
- Cairns, Ed (1996) *Children and Political Violence*, United Kingdom and United States of America: Blackwell Publishers.
- Calnan, Michael (1987) *Health and Illness. The Lay Perspective*, London and New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Castaneda, Claudia (2002) *Figurations*, Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Certeau, Michel de (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. (translated by Steven Rendall), Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coleman, Simon and Collins, Peter (eds.) (2006) *Locating the Field Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*, Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers.
- Conquergood, Dwight (2002) 'Performance studies: Interventions and Radical Research', *The Drama Review*, 46(2): 145–153.
- Counihan, Carol (1999) *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power*, London: Routledge.
- Csordas, Thomas (1990) 'Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology', *Ethos*, 18(1): 5–47.
- Csordas, Thomas J. (ed.) (1994) *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, Sao Paulo: Cambridge University Press.
- Csordas, Thomas J. (1994) *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Das, Veena (1989) 'Voices of Children', *Daedalus*, 118(4): 262–294.

- Das, Veena (2006) *Life and Words: Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Davids, Nadia (2006) *At her feet: a play in one act*, Cape Town: Oshun.
- Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Félix (1988) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, London: Athlone Press.
- Dolby, Nadine (2001) *Constructing Race: Youth, Identity, and Popular Culture in South Africa*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Douglas, Mary (1966) *Purity and Danger*, London: Routledge.
- Douglas, Mary (ed.) (1973) *Rules and Meanings: The Anthropology of Everyday Knowledge: Selected Readings*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Engel, Susan (1995) *The Stories Children Tell: Making Sense of the Narratives of Childhood*, USA: W. H. Freeman and Company.
- Erasmus, Zimitri (ed.) (2001) *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, Cape Town: Kwela Books.
- Escobar, Arturo (2008) *Territories of Difference: Place, Movement, Life, Redes*, Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Fabian, Johannes (1990) *Power and Performance : Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theater in Shaba, Zaire*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Farah, Nuruddin (2000) *Yesterday, Tomorrow: Voices from the Somali Diaspora*, London and New York: Cassell.
- Farmer, Paul (2003) *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor*, Berkeley and Los Angeles California: University of California Press.
- Foucault, Michel (1975). *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, New York: Random House.
- Foucault, Michel (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* (edited by Colin Gordon; translated by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham and Kate Soper), Hertfordshire: Harvester Press Limited.
- Foucault, Michel (1990) *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction*, New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, Michel (2007) *The Politics of Truth* (edited by Sylvere Lotringer; translated by Lysa Hochroth and Catherine Porter), Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).
- Fox, Nick J. (1999) *Beyond Health: Postmodernism and Embodiment*, Great Britain: Free Association Books.

- Friese, Heidrun (2002) *Identities: Time, Difference and Boundaries Making Sense of History*, Volume 2, Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books.
- Garbarino, James; Kostelny, Kathleen; Dubrow, Nancy (1991) *No Place to Be a Child: Growing Up in a War Zone*, United States and Canada: Lexington Books.
- Geertz, Clifford (1973) *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Geertz, Clifford (1983) *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, USA: Basic Books.
- Geertz, Clifford (1988) *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist at Stanford*, California: University Press.
- Giliomee, Hermann and Schlemmer, Lawrence (1989) *From Apartheid to Nation-Building: Contemporary South African Debates*, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Glanz, Lorraine and Spiegel, Andrew D. (1996) *Violence & family life in contemporary South Africa: Research & Policy issues*, Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.
- ‘Global report: UNAIDS report on the global AIDS epidemic’ (2010)
Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS).
- Goffman, Erwing (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Goffman, Erwing (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, New York: Harper.
- Goffman, Erwing (1981) *Forms of Talk*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Goldstein, Donna M. (2003) *Laughter Out of Place: Race, Class, Violence, and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.
- Greenspan, Stanley and Salmon, Jacqueline (1994) *Playground Politics: Understanding the Emotional Life of Your School-Age Child*, Canada: Perseus Books.
- Guldborg, Helene (2009) *Reclaiming Childhood: Freedom and Play in an Age of Fear*, United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada: Routledge.
- Gwyn, Richard (2002) *Communicating Health and Illness*, London, California, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Halliburton, Murphy (2002) ‘Rethinking Anthropological Studies of the Body: Manas and Bōdham in Kerala’, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 104(4): 1123–1134.
- Hann, Chris and Hart, Keith (2011) *Economic anthropology: History, Ethnography, Critique*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Hastrup, Kirsten (1995) *A Passage to Anthropology: Between experience and theory*, London: Routledge.
- Heidegger, Martin (2010) *Being and Time* (translated by Joan Stambaugh; revised by Dennis J. Schmidt), Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Helman, Cecil (2001) *Culture, Health and Illness*, Fourth Edition, London: Arnold.
- Herd, Gilbert (1981) *The Sambia: Ritual and Gender in New Guinea*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hogan, Fergus and O'Reilly, Máire (2007) *Listening to Children: Children's Stories of Domestic Violence*, Centre for Social and Family Research Department of Applied Arts Waterford Institute of Technology.
- Homan, Roger (1991) *The Ethics of Social Research*, United Kingdom and United States Of America: Longman Group Inc.
- Honwana, Alcinda (2006) *Child Soldiers in Africa*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Holland, Dorothy; Lachicotte, William; Skinner, Debra; and Cain, Carol (1998) *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Ingold, Tim (2011) *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*, London, New York: Routledge.
- James, Allison (2007) 'Giving Voice to Children's Voices: Practices and Problems, Pitfalls and Potentials', *American Anthropologist*, 109(2): 261–272.
- James, Allison and Prout, Alan (eds.) (1990) *Constructing and reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, London, New York, Philadelphia: The Falmer Press.
- James, Allison; Jenks, Chris and Prout, Alan (1998) *Theorizing Childhood*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Johnson, Allen 'In Search of the Affluent Society' in Podolefsky, Aaron & Brown, Peter J. (eds.) (1992) *Applying Cultural Anthropology: An Introductory Reader*, Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, pp.171–178.
- Jones, Kenneth R. (1991) *The Sociology of Health and Illness*, Cape Town: Juta & Co, Ltd.
- Jung, Carl G. (1972) *Four Archetypes: Mother, Rebirth, Spirit, Trickster*, London, Boston, Melbourne, Henley: Ark Paperbacks.
- Kester, Norman, G. (2000) *From here to District Six: a South African memoir with new poetry, prose, and other writings*, South Africa: District Six Press.

- Kirsten, Simonsen (2005) 'Bodies, Sensations, Space and Time: The Contribution from Henri Lefebvre', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 87(1): 1–14.
- Kleinman, Arthur (1995) *Writing at the Margin: Discourse between Anthropology and Medicine*, Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Lancy, David (2007) 'Accounting for Variability in Mother-Child Play', *American Anthropologist*, 109(2): 273–284.
- Lancy, David (2008) *The Anthropology of Childhood: Cherubs, Chattel, Changelings*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lefebvre, Henri (1991) *The Production of Space* (translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith), Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Limited.
- LeVine, Robert A. (2007) 'Ethnographic Studies of Childhood: A Historical Overview', *American Anthropologist*, 109(2): 247–260.
- LeVine, Robert A. (ed.) (2010) *Psychological Anthropology: A Reader on Self in Culture*, Chichester, UK and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Levinson, Bradley A. U. and Pollock, Mica (eds.) (2011) *A Companion to the Anthropology of Education*, Chichester, West Sussex and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Levine, Susan (1999) 'Bittersweet Harvest: Children, work and the global march against child labour in the post-apartheid state', *Critique of Anthropology*, 19(2): 139–155.
- Levine, Susan (2011) 'The race of nimble fingers: Changing patterns of children's work in post-apartheid South Africa', *Childhood*, 18(2) 261–272.
- Lindenbaum, Shirley and Lock, Margaret (eds.) (1993) *Knowledge, Power and Practice. The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life*, London, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Lindholm, Charles (2007) *Culture and Identity: The History, Theory, and Practice of Psychological Anthropology*, Oxford: One World Publications.
- Lock, Margaret and Farquhar, Judith (2007) *Beyond the body proper: reading the anthropology of material life*, United States of America: Duke University Press.
- Lockhart, Chris (2008) 'The Life and Death of a Street Boy in East Africa: Everyday Violence in the Time of AIDS', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 22(1): 94–115.
- MacGaffey, Janet and Bazenguissa-Ganga, Remy (2002) *Congo-Paris, Transnational Traders on the Margins of the Law*, United Kingdom and United States of America: The International African Institute.

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagos of Melanesian New Guinea*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1929) *The Sexual Life of Savages in North Western Melanesia*, London: Routledge.

Morrow, Virginia and Richards, Martin (1996) 'The Ethics of Social Research with Children: An Overview' *Children and Society* (10): 90-105.

Mascia-Lees, Frances E. (ed.) (2011) *A Companion to the Anthropology of the Body and Embodiment*, Chichester, West Sussex, U.K. and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Mattingly, Cheryl and Garro, Linda C. (eds.) (2000) *Narrative and the Cultural Construction of Illness and Healing*, London, England: University of California Press.

Mauss, Marcel (1934) *Article originalement publié Journal de Psychologie, XXXII, ne, 3–4, 15 mars–15 avril 1936. Communication présentée à la Société de Psychologie le 17 mai 1934* [online]. Available at: http://www.regine-detambel.com/images/30/revue_1844.pdf [Accessed: 30 May 2013].

Mauss, Marcel (1954) *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, (translated by Ian Cunnison), Cohen and West Limited: England.

May, Julian (ed.) (2000) *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa: Meeting the Challenge*, Cape Town: Zed Books.

McCallum, Cecilia (1996) 'The Body That Knows: From Cashinahua Epistemology to a Medical Anthropology of Lowland South America', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, New Series, 10(3): 347–372.

McLaughlin, Colleen; Swartz, Sharlene; Kiragu, Susan; Walli, Shelina and Mohamed, Mussa (2012) *Old enough to know: Consulting children about sex and AIDS Education in Africa*, Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.

Mead, Margaret (1928a) *Coming of Age in Samoa*, New York: William Morrow.

Mead, Margaret (1928b) 'Samoan Children at Work and Play', *Natural History* 28: 626–636.

Mead, Margaret and Wolfenstein, Martha (1955) *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*, United States of America: University of Chicago Press.

Montgomery, Heather (2009) *An Introduction to Childhood: Anthropological Perspectives on Children's Lives*, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.

Morton, Helen (1996) *Becoming Tongan: An Ethnography of Childhood*, United States of America: University of Hawaii Press.

- Mullender, Audrey; Hague, Gill; Imam, Umme; Kelly, Liz; Malos, Ellen; and Regan, Linda (2002) *Children's Perspectives on Domestic Violence*, London: Sage Publications.
- Murray, Christina and O'Regan, Catherine (eds.) (1990) *No place to rest. Forced removals and the law in South Africa*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Newman, Katherine and De Lannoy, Ariane (2014, under contract) *After Freedom: Coming of Age in Democratic South Africa*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Nordstrom, Carolyn and Robben, Antonius C. G. M. (eds.) (1995) *Fieldwork Under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Culture*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.
- Nugent, David and Vincent, Joan (eds.) (2007) *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*, United States: Blackwell Publishing.
- Onimode, Bade (1985) *An Introduction to Marxist Political Economy*, London: Zed Books Limited.
- Osofsky, Joy D. (1997) *Children in a Violent Society*, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Podolefsky, Aaron and Brown, Peter (eds.) (2002) *Applying Cultural Anthropology*, Sixth Edition, New York: McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Renteln, Alison D. (1988) 'The Concept of Human Rights' *Anthropos*. Institute Bd. 83, H. 4(6): 343–364 [online]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40463371> [Accessed: 9 November 2011].
- Reynolds, Pamela (1989) *Childhood in Crossroads: Cognition and Society in South Africa*, Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip.
- Reynolds, Pamela (1995) *Traditional Healers and Childhood in Zimbabwe*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Riches, David (ed.) (1986) *The Anthropology of Violence*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Riches, David (1991) 'Aggression, War, Violence: Space/Time and Paradigm', *Man* 26(2): 281–298.
- Robertson, George; Mash, Melinda; Tickner, Lisa; Bird, Jon; Curtis, Barry and Putnam, Tim (eds.) (1994) *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*, London: Routledge.
- Ross, Fiona C. (2010) *Raw Life, New Hope: Decency, housing and everyday life in a post-apartheid community*, Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Said, Edward (1978) *Orientalism*, United States: Vintage Books.
- Salame, Charles S. I. (2004) 'Rhetoric of exclusion and racist violence in a Catalan secondary school', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 35(4): 433–450.

- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa (1995) 'Three Metaphors for a New Conception of Law: The Frontier, the Baroque, and the South', *Law and Society Review*, 29(4): 569–584.
- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa (2008) 'Human Rights as an Emancipatory Script? Cultural and Political Conditions' in B. de S. Santos (ed.) *Another knowledge is possible: Beyond Northern Epistemologies*, London, New York: Verso, pp. 3–40.
- Sartain, Samantha A.; Clarke, Charlotte L.; and Heyman, Bob (2000) 'Hearing the voices of children with chronic illness', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 32(4): 913–921.
- Scarre, Geoffrey (ed.) (1989) *Children, Parents and Politics*, United Kingdom, United States of America, Australia: Cambridge University Press.
- Schechner, Richard (1977) *Essays on Performance Theory: 1970–1976*, New York: Drama Book Specialists.
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy (1992) *Death Without Weeping. The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy (1998) 'Undoing: social suffering and the politics of remorse in the New South Africa (Special Issue: Beyond the Neoliberal Peace: From Conflict Resolution to Social Reconciliation)', *Social Justice*, 25(4): 114–142.
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy and Lock, Margaret (eds.) (1987) 'The Mindful Body: A prolegomenon to future work in Medical Anthropology', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 1(1): 6–41.
- Sen, Amartya (2007) *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, India: Penguin Books.
- Setai, Bethuel (1998) *The Making of Poverty in South Africa*, Harare: Sapes Books.
- Shildrick, Margrit (2002) *Embodying the Monster: Encounters with the Vulnerable Self*, London: Sage Publications.
- Steinberg, Jonny (2011) *Little Liberia: An African Odyssey in New York, Johannesburg and Cape Town*: Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Strather, Andrew J. (1996) *Body Thoughts*, United States of America: University of Michigan Press.
- Stromberg, P. G. (1993) *Language and Self-transformation: A study of the Christian Conversion Narrative*, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.
- Swartz, Sharlene (2009) *Ikasi: The Moral Ecology of South Africa's Township Youth*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Symphony Pavement Dwellers (2011) *No Land, No House, No Vote*, Cape Town, Dakar, Nairobi and Oxford: Pambazuka Press.
- Synnott, Anthony and Howes, David (1992) 'From Measurement to Meaning:

Anthropologies of the Body', *Anthropos*, 1(3): 147–166.

Tissington, Kate (2011) *A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa 1994–2010: Legislation, Policy, Programmes and Practice*. Socio-economic Rights Institution of South Africa.

Turner, Victor (1979a) 'Dramatic Ritual/Ritual Drama: Performative and Reflexive Reviewed work(s)', *The Kenyon Review*, New Series, 1(3): 80–93.

Turner, Victor (1979b) 'Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 6(4): 465–499.

Turner, Victor (1982) *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications.

Turner, Victor (1987) *The Anthropology of Performance*, New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications.

Van der Geest, Sjaak and Whyte, Susan, R. (1989) 'The Charm of Medicines: Metaphors and Metonyms', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 3(4): 345–367.

Van Gennep, Arnold (1909) *The Rites of Passage*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Van Hear, Nicholas and Crisp, Jeff (1986) 'Refugees: dynamics of displacement - A report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues', London: Zed Books.

Walker, Cherryl (ed.) (2011) *Land, Memory, Reconstruction, and Justice: perspectives on land claims in South Africa*, Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Werner, Emmy E. and Smith, Ruth S. (1982) *Vulnerable but Invincible*, United States of America: McGraw Hill.

Whiteford, Linda M. and Trotter II, Robert T. (2008) *Ethics for Anthropological Research and Practice*, United States of America: Waveland Press, Inc.

Whyte, Susan R.; Van der Geest, Sjaak and Hardon, Anita (2002) *Social Lives of Medicine*, United Kingdom, United States of America, Australia, Spain, South Africa: Cambridge University Press.

Wood, Kate; Lambert, Helen and Jewkes, Rachel (2007) "'Showing roughness in a beautiful way": talk about love, coercion, and rape in South African youth sexual culture', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 21(3): 277–300.

Woodward, Kathryn (ed.) (1997) *Identity and Difference*, London: Sage Publications Limited.

Worthen, William (1998) 'Drama, Performativity, and Performance', *PMLA*, 113(5): 1093–1107.

Wuthnow, R.; Hunter, J. D.; Bergesen, A. and Kurzweil, E. (1984) *Cultural Analysis*, Boston, London, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Online Sources:

American Anthropological Association (AAA) (1986) *Statements on Ethics, Principles of Professional Responsibility*, Adopted by the Council of American Anthropological Association May 1971 [online]. Available at: <http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/ethstmnt.htm> [Accessed 5 September 2013].

Brun, Catherine, 'Research guide on internal displacement' Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) Research Group on Forced Migration, Department of Geography: Trondheim, Norway [online]. Available at: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/internal-displacement/fmo041.pdf> [Accessed 30 May 2013].

Chance, Kerry (May 8, 2008) 'Housing and Evictions at the N2 Gateway Project in Delft. A Report for Abahlali baseMjondolo', *Abahlali baseMjondolo* [online]. Available at: <http://www.abahlali.org/node/3581> [Accessed 28 May 2013].

Citizenship, Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Perceptions from South African Communities (June 2008) Democracy and Governance Programme; Human Sciences Research Council [online]. Available at: <http://mg.co.za/specialreport/xenophobia> [Accessed 6 May 2013].

City receives many requests from people to be moved to Delft TRA (April 2010) City of Cape Town, Media Release No. 278/2010 19 [online]. Available at: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/MediaReleases/Pages/CityreceivesmanyrequestsfrompeopletoobemovedtoDelftTRA.aspx> [Accessed 12 May 2013].

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (12 March 2010) [online]. Available at: <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/constitution.htm> [Accessed 12 May 2013].

Creative Education (2010) *Creative Education* [online]. Available at: <http://www.creativeeducation.org> [Accessed 2 June 2013].

Davids, N. (19 April 2010) 'Blikkiesdorp: "It's a concentration camp"', *Sunday Times, Times Live* [online]. Available at: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/article410648.ece/Blikkiesdorp--Its-a-concentration-camp> [Accessed 6 May 2013].

"'Dumping ground' for unwanted people" (9 October 2009) *Mail and Guardian* [online] Available at: <http://mg.co.za/article/2009-10-09-dumping-ground-for-unwanted-people> [Accessed 6 May 2013].

Hartley, Aziz (September 16 2008) 'City to forcibly remove adamant squatters', *Independent Online* [online]. Available at: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/city-to-forcibly->

remove-adamant-squatters-1.416552?ot=inmsa.ArticlePrintPageLayout.ot [Accessed 30 May 2013].

‘How we work’ (2013) *Housing Development Agency* [online]. Available at: http://www.thehda.co.za/how_we_work/projects_and_programmes_function/n2_gateway/ [Accessed 28 May 2013]

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council (2011) *Child Rights International Network* [online]. Available at: <http://www.crin.org/resources/infodetail.asp?ID=24558> [Accessed May 30 2013].

Joubert, P. (24 August 2008, 06:00) ‘It’s our duty not to be silent’, *Mail and Guardian* [online]. Available at: <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-08-24-its-our-duty-not-to-be-silent>) [Accessed 6 May 2013].

Joubert, P. (14 May 2009) ‘Cape Town takes down tents as storm clouds gather’, *Mail and Guardian* [online]. Available at: <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2009-05-14-cape-town-takes-down-tents-as-storm-clouds-gather> [Accessed 6 May 2013].

Kardas-Nelson, Mara (18 March 2009) ‘Eviction threat to refugees’ (18 March 2009) *Mail and Guardian* [online]. Available at: <http://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-18-eviction-threat-to-refugees>. [Accessed 6 May 2013].

Mama, Sibongakonke (4 April 2012) ‘We were better off under a bridge’, *Cape Argus* [online]. Available at: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/we-were-better-off-under-a-bridge-1.1270428?ot=inmsa.ArticlePrintPageLayout.ot> [Accessed 11 May 2013].

‘N2 Gateway update’ (12 May 2011) *Housing Departmental Agency* [online]. Available at: <http://www.thehda.co.za/news/entry/n2-gateway-update> [Accessed 6 May 2013].

Prince, Natasha and Solomons, Kowthar (April 21 2010) ‘Think about the children’, *Independent Online*. Available at: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/think-about-the-children-1.481335#.T9ovF-0RvN6> [Accessed 11 May 2013].

Prinsloo, Loni (29 September 2011) ‘Sexwale calls on all South Africans to help with housing backlog’. *Polityorg.za* [online]. Available at: <http://www.polity.org.za/article/sexwale-calls-on-all-south-africans-to-help-with-housing-backlog-2011-09-29> [Accessed 30 May 2013].

Rice, Catherine (29 July 2011) ‘Somali girl found hanged in CT settlement’ [online] Available at: <http://ewn.co.za/2011/07/29/Somali-girl-found-hanged-in-CT-settlement> [Accessed 29 May 2013].

‘Segregationist Legislation Timeline 1950-1959’, *South African History Online – Towards a People’s History* [online]. Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/segregationist-legislation-timeline-1950-1959> [Accessed 29 May 2013].

Smith, David (1 April 2010) ‘Life in “Tin Can Town” for the South Africans evicted ahead of World Cup’, *The Guardian* [online]. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/apr/01/south-africa-world-cup-blikkiesdorp> [Accessed 11 May 2013].

‘South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid: Building Democracy’ [online]. Available at: <http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/multimedia.php?id=5> [Accessed 11 May 2013].

South African Government Information (2013), *Housing* [online]. Available at: <http://www.info.gov.za/aboutsa/housing.htm> [Accessed 29 May 2013].

Staff Reporter (23 May 2008) ‘Where to from here?’ *Mail and Guardian* [online]. Available at: <http://mg.co.za/article/2008-05-23-where-to-from-here> [Accessed 6 May 2013].

StatsOnline (Mid 2013) *Population Key Indicator* [online]. Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/keyindicators/keyindicators.asp> [Accessed 30 May 2013].

Thamm, Marianne (30 June 2006) ‘Hiccups in grand housing design’. *Mail & Guardian* [online]. Available at: <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2006-06-30-hiccups-in-grand-housing-design>. [Accessed 28 May 2013].

Training on the Protection of IDPs – Who is an Internally Displaced Person? *Norwegian Refugee Council and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre* [online]. Available at: [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/8FA27BA51F738586C125711500467CD2/\\$file/Definition%20module%20handout.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/8FA27BA51F738586C125711500467CD2/$file/Definition%20module%20handout.pdf) [Accessed 29 May 2013].

United Nations (1998) *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* [online]. Available at: <http://www.idpguidingprinciples.org/> [Accessed 29 May 2013].

University of Cape Town; Faculty of Humanities (2006) ‘Guide to Research Ethics - Research on Human Subjects’ [online] Available at: http://www.humanities.uct.ac.za/downloads/humanities/research/ethics/UCT_Humanities_Ethics_Guide.pdf [Accessed 5 September 2013].

World Health Organisation (2010) *World Health Report 2010: Housing and Health* [online]. Available at: <http://www.who.int/hia/housing/en/> [Accessed 12 May 2013].

‘700 Delft Symphony Way residents to serve city of Cape Town with individual notices to defend eviction application’ (2009) *Anti-Eviction Campaign: Western Cape* [online]. Available at: <http://antieviction.org.za/2009/03/09/700-delft-symphony-way-residents-to-serve-city-of-cape-town-with-individual-notices-to-defend-eviction-application/> [Accessed 6 May 2013].

Picture source (a): Photographs taken by Jordaan, M (2010) 'Refugees camp in toilets after eviction' *Cape Argus* in *Independent Newspapers* [online]. Available at: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/refugees-camp-in-toilets-after-eviction-1.676910#.UQowZvJBmwQ> [Accessed 6 May 2013].

Picture source (b): Posted on 20 February 2012 by larisamadison, *QU 301 South Africa: From A Tourist to Township Perspective* [online]. Available at: <http://qu301southafrica.com/2012/02/20/apartheid> [Accessed 11 May 2013].

University of Cape Town